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COVER: The human body's intricate defense network begins to yield its secrets

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The immune system is made up of a trillion specialized cells, regulated by powerful biochemicals, that wage an unending war on alien organisms that cause illness, suffering and death. Spurred along by the AIDS epidemic, research into its complex and wondrous workings is bringing about promising developments in the treatment of deadly diseases. See **MEDICINE**.



NATION: Why, oh why, are the Reagans perennial targets of kiss-and-tell books?

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The Regan memoir is only the latest to bare the Administration's inner workings. The White House cries "disloyalty," but the Reagans seem to bring it on themselves. ► Two conservative Washington insiders use leaks to tilt U.S. policy against the Soviets. ► Congress has exempted itself from a broad array of laws covering civil rights and safety requirements.



WORLD: The Afghanistan pullout signals a slick new Soviet foreign policy

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Beyond Kabul, there are signs that Gorbachev wants to win friends and influence governments. But Moscow's goal is still to stymie the U.S. ► A snap election in Denmark raises the question of whether NATO's members can have a pick-and-choose defense.

- In France a victorious Mitterrand names a Socialist Cabinet.
- Kim Philby, British traitor and master spy, is dead at 76.



36 Economy & Business

With the economy in danger of overheating, inflation may take off. ► A lucky class of '88. ► Panamanians cope with sanctions.

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Thanks to a flood of immigrants, converts and native believers, Islam will soon displace Judaism as America's No. 2 faith.

51 Press

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54 Video

Two new books take a harshly critical look at the turmoil that has beset CBS News in recent years. One of the villains: Dan Rather.

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When accused killers claim rough sex as a defense, is rough justice the result? ► A pinch of pot means big trouble for a yacht owner.

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Battling Billy Martin is stitched into baseball's historic alliance with alcohol. ► The barefoot runner from South Africa goes home in tears.

74 Books

Opposed by his subject and restricted by the courts, Ian Hamilton has still produced a canny, engaging biography of J.D. Salinger.

82 Essay

Why would a billionaire want to cheat the Government out of a measly \$4 million? Simple greed isn't an adequate explanation.

Cover: Photograph by Dennis Chalkin; illustration by Joe Lertola

A Letter from the Publisher

The editors of *TIME* have long appreciated the power of the screen. From the 1930s to the 1950s, the magazine's *March of Time* newsreels were a popular movie theater attraction. Starting in 1985, *TIME* has helped produce annual television programs on its Man of the Year choice. Now we are about to take a more ambitious leap into the video world by joining forces with the Public Broadcasting Service's award-winning documentary series *Frontline* to produce television public affairs specials. The first *TIME-Frontline* production will air Tuesday, May 24. Titled *The Defense of Europe*, the one-hour documentary will examine the changing U.S. role in the NATO alliance.

The idea originated with *TIME* Special Projects Head David McGowan, who last summer proposed a partnership to *Frontline* managers, including Executive Producer David Fanning. Both sides agreed that NATO was an ideal topic for their first documentary. Says *Frontline* Senior Producer Mike Sullivan: "With the INF treaty and the promise of a later treaty on strategic weapons, it was clear that the requirements for the defense of Europe were going to change drastically." From *TIME*'s point of view, says Assistant Managing Editor Richard Duncan, who oversees the magazine's role in the series, "it was a natural, a story we've



Fanning, McGowan and Cran consult

been covering closely for decades." When the Reagan-Gorbachev summit opens in Moscow on May 29, the show will have a solid news peg.

In putting together the special, *Frontline* Writer-Producers Stephanie Tepper and William Cran worked closely with *TIME* correspondents in Europe and Washington and rummaged through material from *TIME* Inc.'s extensive library. "One of the most useful things was having access to *TIME*'s remarkable research files," says Sullivan. In addition, Washington Bureau Chief Strobe Talbott, an authority on arms control, topped off the show with a video essay linking European defense to global nuclear deterrence.

Planning is already under way for a second collaboration—profiles of the two U.S. presidential candidates—which would air in the fall. "*TIME* and *Frontline* bring different but complementary skills to this ambitious enterprise," says *TIME* Managing Editor Henry Muller. "This broadcast shows how print and television can work together to create something of quality that neither medium could produce alone."

Robert L. Miller

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Letters

Dukakis Rolls On

To the Editors:

I wish reporters and commentators would stop their one-note attacks on Michael Dukakis [NATION, May 2] as a dull, bland guy. The question we should be asking is not whether he can entertain us with verbal razzle-dazzle, but whether he will be a good President. I believe he will be. If Reagan has been a Teflon President, perhaps Dukakis can be an aluminum-foil leader—flexible yet strong, with the dull side covering everything.

Michael Wiecek
Bridgeport, Conn.



Why do Republicans feel on such firm ground when they criticize Governor Dukakis for lacking experience in foreign affairs? How much did Reagan have when he became President?

Beatrice A. Parker
Newport, R.I.

You say Dukakis has not launched a "single imaginative political theme" during his campaign. Do you have a problem with "Good jobs at good wages for every citizen in the land"? I don't.

Aubrey N. Martin
Sherman, Texas

As a Canadian who follows U.S. politics closely, I am torn. With my brain I would vote for Dukakis, and with my heart I would vote for Jackson. A Democratic ticket combining both would unite my heart and brain and bring me peace.

Andreas Constantinides
Mississauga, Ont.

John Wayne will always be remembered as the "Duke." After November, Dukakis will be forgotten.

J. Paul Herrmann
Ashland, Ohio

To many New Englanders who have fled from Massachusetts, Dukakis is clearly a product of the Eastern-liberal-Harvard establishment. Reckless spend-

ing has earned his state the title "Taxachusetts." The man and the "miracle" are largely the result of a well-financed and highly organized campaign. If America doesn't quickly admit that this little emperor is not wearing any substantive clothing, the country could be doomed.

Frank M. Buselli
Amherst, N.H.

Historic Mistake

Senator Malcolm Wallop opposes payment of \$20,000 to each of the surviving 60,000 Japanese-American internees of the World War II roundup [ETHICS, May 2]. Instead, how about having the Government reimburse these individuals for the farms, homes and businesses they lost along with their freedom—at today's market value, of course.

Ruth Dougherty
St. Charles, Mo.

I seriously doubt that most Americans, as you say, approve of this proposed payment. Making it would not expunge "that stain," since there is no stain. President Roosevelt's action in 1942 was proper. The Germans and Italians in our country were not treated similarly, because their homelands did not attack the U.S. Could this be a political maneuver in an election year to buy the goodwill of the Japanese-American community?

Henry R. Dressel Jr.
Atlanta

Skirting for Power

Ah, that life should be so serious and fashion no longer fun [LIVING, April 25]. Surely professional women, the "most powerful new force in the marketplace," have enough self-confidence to say that any and all lengths of skirt are O.K. If appropriate to the person and the occasion. Lee Iacocca could have bailed out Chrysler wearing short pants or a kilt or whatever. His drive, determination and confidence aren't affected by the cut of his suit!

Rosemary McGeary
New York City

Leave It to Nature

The ideas in "The Dilemmas of Childlessness" [BEHAVIOR, May 2], if carried to the extreme, ordain the stagnation of our society. As more and more educated, productive couples elect to remain childless, their influence is lost, and there will be fewer contributing members to society in succeeding generations. I did my part: I have two sons.

Thomas C. Zebovitz
Iselin, N.J.

There is no need to worry about the future. The kind of woman who chooses childlessness will leave no lasting mark on mother earth. Only women who reproduce will be represented in the genera-

Letters

tions to come. This explains why the feminist cause will never succeed. Nature takes care of everything, especially its survival, which is spelled *c-h-i-l-d-r-e-n*.

Otto V. Ludvigsen
Virum, Denmark

As a 32-year-old childless female, I have had mothers say to me, "I just cannot comprehend a person who does not want children." I have also talked to mothers who candidly admitted their regret at having children. Nonmothering women do exist. Why do mothering women feel it is necessary to comprehend us? In nature, diversity creates stability. Perhaps there is good reason we were not all created identical.

Shawn Kinney-O'Brien
Pittsburgh

Supporting Presidential Action

Thank God we have an American President who has the courage to use the protection of our warships in the Persian Gulf and, after consulting members of Congress, order a military retaliation against Iran for the mine-explosion attack on a U.S. naval ship [WORLD, May 2]. I believe the American people, Republicans and Democrats alike, will support the President's action. President Reagan does not want war any more than the American people do. But if we are attacked, the American people have no other choice but to retaliate through the use of our naval and air strike forces.

Hamilton Fish
Member of Congress, 1920-45
New York City

Congressman Fish is noted for his anti-Communist and isolationist positions prior to World War II. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, he called on Americans to support the President.

Grocery Groans

J.D. Salinger [PEOPLE, May 2] has shared with us the brilliance of his writing. Is it therefore his duty to share with us his trip to the grocery store? Really, that was most tasteless of you.

Susan E. Langland
Portland, Ore.

When all a man asks from society is that he be left alone to create, who are you or two "intrepid photographers" to deny him that peace? What is so newsworthy about a man buying groceries? The pain and displeasure displayed on the author's face should have been enough to keep you from publishing his photograph.

Marsha M. Evans
Tacoma

Oh, My Aching Jaw

It was very interesting to find that there are millions of people suffering from TMJ (temporomandibular joint) problems

[HEALTH & FITNESS, April 25]. I recently incurred facial injuries as a result of a car accident. Recommended treatment included braces (\$3,000), extensive testing of the jaw joint (\$2,500) and steroid injections into the joint (\$350), and I am now wearing an acrylic mouth plate (\$400) day and night. Back to the old cliché: we can send a man to the moon, but we can't find a cure for our problems at home.

Denise M. Davis
Omaha

Most chronic head and neck pain is probably caused by constant muscle tension. Only occasionally is the TMJ primarily at the source of the problem, though failure to treat jaw muscle-related pain may lead to changes in the TMJ.

Thomas C. Sist, D.D.S., Director
Northeastern Oral Health Foundation
Williamsville, N.Y.

When my dentist suggested that he break my jaw, I did not appreciate the prospect. I went home and closed the air-conditioning vent over my bed—and never suffered again.

Ivey Jackson
Birmingham

Remembering the Bibliocaust

Did Lance Morrow know when he wrote his insightful column "A Holocaust of Words" [ESSAY, May 2] that TIME coined the expression bibliocaust in 1933, when it reported Nazi book burning? I read the story, which appeared in the May 22, 1933, issue, while conducting research for my address at the Library of Congress's current exhibit, sponsored in collaboration with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, titled "Nazi Book Burnings and the American Response."

Guy Stern, Professor
Wayne State University
Detroit

Mass Tampering

I am so tired of the demands for women to become part of the Roman Catholic priesthood [RELIGION, April 25]. Haven't the grandeur and glory of the Mass been tampered with enough? Powerful words of prayer have been watered down to greeting-card sentimentality; fat ladies in tight pants hand out Communion wafers from cheap breadbaskets; lay speakers stumble over unfamiliar words in the readings. The American bishops are apparently giving in to the shrill clamor of women who want to dilute the strength and beauty of the church.

Virginia Peters
Elberon, N.J.

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American Scene

In Texas: Stalking the Western Diamondback

Rancher Bill Haas turns up the heat against the chilly morning as he waits, first in line, for the Nolan County Coliseum in Sweetwater, Texas, to open at 8 a.m. In the back of his brown-and-tan Ford pickup are 1,042 lbs. of live rattlesnakes. Behind him sit ten more trucks, also filled with live rattlesnakes. The snakes, venomous Western diamondbacks, are reluctant participants in what has become a rite of spring in rural Texas: the rattlesnake roundup.

Haas, 59, raises cattle and sheep on a spread north of Sweetwater (pop. 12,242), and has hunted snakes since he was a boy.

gal. drums, plastic garbage cans, wooden boxes, and even burlap sacks."

After being weighed, the snakes are dumped in a great braided mass into chest-high octagonal white plywood stockades, called pits. There they can be safely ogled and photographed in all their slithering, tongue-flicking, fang-baring, rattling, coiling, head-rearing glory. The Western diamondback, *Crotalus* (castanet) *atrox* (fearful), is indeed a horrible- wonderful creature. Its head is broad and flat, and its close-set, silver gray eyes with black pupils seem fixed and furious. A dry, cool skin of interlocking gray-and-

coats. Three-dollar bus tours for those who want to see the snakes in their natural habitat leave every hour. A cook shack is busy producing corn dogs (\$1) and deep-fried rattlesnake meat (\$1). Take a bite; it tastes like turtle.

At the milking pit, Mike Brentz, a burly offshore oil worker, lifts a snake from a garbage can and places it on a small center table. Carefully he flattens and immobilizes its head with a hook and picks it up just behind the jaw. He hangs the snake's fangs over a glass beaker. When he squeezes, a teaspoon of venom drips out. Then he walks around the pit giving spectators a close-up of the snake's satiny pink mouth, its curved fangs, black tongue. When Kelly Head, 19, the new Miss Snake Charmer, gets into the demonstration pit with Bill Ransberger, the snake handler, and picks up a snake, her hands shake a little. "Beauty and the beast," pronounces Ransberger, as the audience applauds. "I always look for a little cold snake with no others around," she confides.

In the IGA parking lot near the coliseum, a guided hunt is being organized. Participants have paid \$29 for registration and for hunting equipment—snake tongs and hooks made from recycled golf clubs, a snakebite kit, hand mirrors, garbage cans to hold live rattlesnakes and a spray can with a long copper tube filled with unrefined gas for flushing the snakes from their dens. This is the snake-hunting-as-a-sport group, and its members come from as far away as Canada. Hunting garb ranges from Reeboks and jeans to paramilitary Indiana Jones attire, including boots with a side knife and scabbard, camouflage flak jackets, molded-plastic snake-proof leggings. "Some of these folks are really into serpents," says Wayne Wilson, a Jaycee and hardware-store owner.

Bo Browning leads the expedition. It moves down Interstate 20 in a 20-car-and-camper caravan and into the still brown land of broomweed and tumbleweed, thorn trees and mesquite and prickly-pear cactus. Browning has been hunting snakes since he was 14, always with the same high school friends. His wife Brenda accompanies him. "It's something we can do together," she says. "It's exciting, the thrill of not knowing, the danger. Bo hunts snakes like some people hunt deer, for the sport." "He's good," says a friend. "He just smells them."

The group is cautioned about fires and littering, and then scatters. A few less experienced hunters trail along behind Bo, scaling a nearly vertical hill of fine, sliding sandstone and hard rock, arriving just below a cavernous outcropping—a den.



Beauty and the beast: Snake Charmer Kelly Head and a Texas rattlesnake

"They're a problem to livestock and people," he says. On and off since January, he has scoured the countryside for their dens, catching them while they're "cold"—hibernating, slow moving. Now he and the other hunters will sell them for \$3 a lb. at Sweetwater's 30th Annual Rattlesnake Roundup. The town's Jaycees, who organize the roundup as a community fund raiser, claim that of some 40 in the country, theirs is the largest and oldest, drawing crowds of 8,000 a day. They expect to clear about \$40,000 from the take at the door and the sale of skins, meat and venom.

"We had 5,000 lbs. of snakes turned in before noon the first morning, a total of 11,709 lbs. for the whole roundup," says John Womble, a carpenter who has been weighing snakes for twelve years. "They're brought in U-Hauls so they don't freeze. We don't buy dead snakes. They come loose in horse trailers where we've got to get in and pick 'em out, in 55-

brown diamond pattern leads to a pyramid of hard keratin nubs, acquired at the tail after successive moltings. The ceaseless, disturbed rattling of so many snakes together is like the sound of bacon frying in a hundred skillets.

The three-day roundup is as much carnival as hunt. It begins with a parade down Sweetwater's Broadway (antique cars; the Girl Scouts Troop No. 114 float; the Sweetwater High band; Dr. Michael Dainer, the town ob-gyn, with his Clydesdale and buggy; the Nolan County sheriff's posse) and a beauty-queen contest in which 21 of the town's young women vie for a scholarship prize of \$1,000 and the title Miss Snake Charmer.

Inside the coliseum, spectators can watch snake handling by professional snake wranglers. There is also snake milking, butchering, gutting and skinning, the last done with the help of visibly squeamish volunteers from the beauty pageant dressed in blood-spattered lab

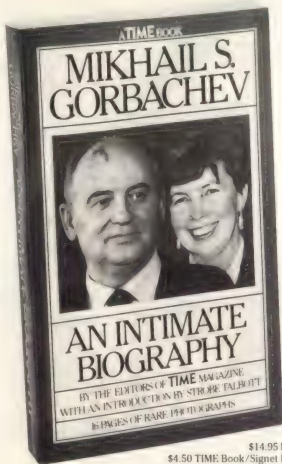
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American Scene

Browning is on his hands and knees peering into the dark crevices under the ledge, reflecting sunlight into the deep shadows with a mirror. He and a couple of Jaycees consult.

"Think there's anything in there?"

"Mebbe."

"Give it a shot."

"Whew, this drip gas smells bad."

"There's one! A big 'un."

"It's coming out. You ready?"

"Take your hook and press down on him."

"Get the tongs! Get the tongs!"

One snake, rattling madly, is caught and put into a box.

"There's another at the side."

About six more small snakes are caught.

"Three bucks a pound, that's about eleven bucks."



A horrible-wonderful creature.

**Its head is broad and flat,
and its close-set, silver gray
eyes with black pupils seem
fixed and furious**

"About covers your beer for the last 15 minutes."

"Here, hold this for a second," says Texarkanan Glen Hickman, handing us his tongs with a rattler writhing on the end. "I've got a thorn up my pant leg." We gingerly hold it at arm's length, silently cursing Hickman.

The traditional roundup has long been criticized for being supermacho. Recently, however, conservation and animal-rights groups have begun protesting them. "I'm not opposed to controlled hunting," says Hubert Quinn, a herpetologist at the Houston Zoological Gardens. "But these roundups are designed to decimate the population. Rattlesnakes show fidelity to den sites; they can be plucked like cabbages. The whole thing is inhumane and kills every other inhabitant of the den as well—mice, owls, lizards, turtles."

For the moment, these are not considerations for the hunters and spectators. "It's amazing to me the number of people who are so damn interested in snakes," comments Wilson. Adds James Bynum, a young hunter from Lubbock: "There aren't that many social events in West Texas. This is one."

—By Marion Knox Barthelme

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In the men's hair care section

TIME MAY 23, 1988

Why He's a Target

The fault, dear Reagan, is not in our stars, but in ourselves

"Ah, you publishing scoundrel!" That is what the imperious old woman in Henry James' *The Aspern Papers* hisses at her ambitious lodger when she finds him snooping through her yellowed letters for his own scholarly endeavors. To the old woman, he revealed himself as the lowest form of life. Her reaction is not unlike that of Nancy Reagan and her husband to the publication last week of Donald Regan's *For the Record*. Like the woman in the story, the Regans acted as if betrayed by someone whose loyalty they had depended on, as though they were the innocent victims of a dastardly opportunist.

The implication was that *For the Record* was unique in its venom and singular in its criticism. Yet apart from its astrological revelations and acid-limed portrait of the First Lady, it is not so much in a class by itself as the latest addition to a long, groaning shelf. Deaver, Haig, Stockman, Speakes, Regan. Even two Reagan children, Patti and Michael, have written slap-and-yell books about the First Family. And more are on the way. Helene von Damm, once Reagan's personal assistant and later Ambassador to Austria, has reportedly penned something less than a valentine to the First Family, and a new book by former White House Aide Martin Anderson describes Reagan as resembling a "Turkish pasha, passively letting his subjects serve him."

The White House went on the offen-

sive as *For the Record* was published and excerpted in *TIME*. The strategy was to depict Regan as a cad, astrology as harmless, Nancy as vulnerable and Ronnie as aggrieved. "I was taken aback by the venom of the attack," the First Lady said. "It comes through that Don Regan doesn't really like me." At a lunch with Columnist Carl Rowan, Regan played the angry husband. "I'll be damned if I just sit by and let them railroad my wife," he said. He noted that Nancy was upset for having caused the furor, but Regan then told her, "No, honey, I brought all this down on you by taking this job."

The White House then began trying to discredit some of the book's claims. In a letter to *TIME* on White House stationery, Army Colonel John E. Hutton, the President's physician, wrote that Regan's description of the scene at Bethesda Naval Hospital in July of 1985 is inaccurate. Regan had speculated that Nancy may have considered delaying the President's colon surgery on the advice of her astrologer. Not so, says Hutton. Regan points out that he said he only "feared" she was consulting with her astrologer.

Escapees from presidential Administrations have been publishing insider memoirs since Andrew Jackson's time, but never with such haste and malign glee. Traditionally such books were more concerned with the virtues of policy than the vagaries of personality. Rarely were they published while a President was in

office. Moreover, the archetypal insider stories were more kiss than tell: most, such as the spate of Roosevelt and Kennedy books, were unabashed hagiographies.

The emphasis on character rather than policy has been a gradual change. In an age when Presidents are elected more for their personalities than their platforms, books detailing the intricacies and foibles of character are the natural result.

But why the rash of Reagan bashing while he is still in office? One reason is that he is the first eighth-year President since Dwight Eisenhower, providing enough time for the kissing to end and the telling to make it into print. Another is that this is an era of dizzying advances for titillates. What price loyalty? Stockman \$2 million and Deaver \$500,000. Exemplars of Reaganomics, they are merely capitalizing on the literary equivalent of insider information. (Regan has pledged his \$1 million advance and subsequent royalties to charity.)

In addition, there is simply more dirt to dish on Reagan and his wife. Nancy's overzealous protection of her Ronnie and his bizarrely inattentive style make lively reading. The number of Reagan Administration members who have had ethical or legal charges leveled against them is without precedent. There is no honor in remaining silent about wrongdoing or horror stories in Government.

Yet there is a more basic factor about Reagan that seems to provoke such books. When the question of whether he had

Throwing the books at him

The Books of Revelation pour forth, all with similar tales. Is each tattling author guilty of disloyalty? Or is there something about Reagan that corrodes the bonds of loyalty?



Alexander Haig
The President appeared to be surprised and shocked by my testiness. Once again, his aides had briefed him badly.
—*Caveat*, 1984



David Stockman
Reagan's body of knowledge is primarily impressionistic: he registers anecdotes rather than concepts. —*The Triumph of Politics*, 1986



Patti Davis
Each time my hopes were raised that I might be able to reach him, that he might understand what was in my heart, but each time I came away deflated. —*Home Front*, 1986



Michael Deaver
I want to be careful not to suggest that he believes in spirits. But Ronald Reagan does not laugh off paranormal phenomena. —*Behind the Scenes*, 1987

been "disloyal" was put to Regan, the former chief of staff turned it around: "What about their loyalty to me? Loyalty is a two-way street." As another former staffer puts it, "People are not loyal to the Reagans, because they are not loyal."

At first this seems absurd: Isn't Regan the man who is so darn loyal to folks like Ed Meese and Raymond Donovan and, yes, even Don Regan that he keeps them around longer than is politically wise? But Regan's apparent devotion arises less from a real emotional loyalty than from his aversion to face-to-face confrontations and personal unpleasantness.

To those close to him, Regan seems to inspire a genial affection rather than an emotional bond. Many have observed, as Don Regan does, that the President has never formed close friendships, people with whom he shares ideas, feelings or even a beer. He is affably distant. Many staff people wonder whether the President knows their first names, where they sit, or what they do. Many who left under pressure felt they never got a fair hearing, or any kind of hearing, from the President.

One longtime Reagan friend related how all of Reagan's children had to accept the fact that their father was not emotionally available to them, that he was incapable of intimacy, that beneath that sunny exterior was a cold man. "He can't give. He just can't give," the friend recalled. "Over the years, he's never once told me what he thinks of me. He just doesn't know how to be intimate. He can't ever be personal. He can't cry. His kids have cried in front of him. But he can't cry. He can cry about something thousands of miles away, about some story, about some letter he's received. But he can't cry with his own."

As Duke Professor James David Barber notes, the portraits of the President in all of the books have a "remarkable consistency." Regan, Stockman, Deaver and others all play variations on the same theme of a passive, disengaged President. Daughter Patti Davis' roman à clef and Michael Reagan's whiny autobiography depict a father who behaves toward his children much the way the President acts



toward his staff: amiable, but ultimately aloof. With his California cronies as with his White House retainers, he is likable and friendly as he swaps old stories and jokes. But the emotional bonds of friendship, the basis for true loyalty, generally seem missing.

The notion of loyalty will pervade



Michael Reagan

He always seemed to be uncomfortable whenever he and I embarked on anything resembling a personal discussion.

—On the Outside
Looking In, 1988



Larry Speakes

When he does look at a newspaper, the President's habit is to read the comics first.

—Speaking Out, 1988



Donald Regan

It was a rare meeting in which he made a decision or issued orders. . . . Nearly everyone was a stranger to this shy President.

—For the Record, 1988



Martin Anderson

He made no demands, and gave almost no instruction. Essentially, he just responded to whatever was brought to his attention.

—Revolution, 1988

the presidential campaign. George Bush wears his loyalty on his sleeve, and treats his unremitting record of fealty to his boss as one of his chief selling points to the electorate. But as more and more of the secret life of the Administration becomes exposed, Bush may appear like the last loyal courtier to the emperor with no clothes. And surely Michael Dukakis will portray Bush's loyalty as a slavish, unthinking allegiance to policies undeserving of such fidelity.

Regan remarks on the President's stunning lack of curiosity about nearly everything. Regan's much vaunted trust in humanity comes across not as altruistic optimism but as an uncritical and dangerous naiveté. During the Iran-*contra* affair, Regan writes of Reagan, "it never seemed to occur to him that anyone would give him incorrect infor-

mation." In Regan's book, the President emerges once again as the dutiful actor who believes he is fulfilling his job by attending and then crossing out each event on his daily calendar.

Perhaps the most damning indictment in *For the Record* is the President's failure to ask a single question of Regan or James Baker when they proposed switching jobs in January 1985. "In the President's place," Regan writes, "I would have put many questions to the applicant . . . I did not know what to make of his passivity." But his passivity was a mistake in a way that Donald Regan does not suspect. The job of chief of staff, particularly in the Reagan White House, is one that demands an almost infinite amount of patience and flexibility, qualities that the rigid, often

magisterial Regan does not have in great supply. A more engaged President might have seen that when the two men proposed swapping places.

The Reagan Administration, more than any other in history, has been proficient at creating and projecting images. Regan's book, like the others, reveals how obsessed the White House was with appearances. That may be the final reason Regan has proved such a mark for Books of Revelation: there has been so great a discrepancy between the image and the reality of his leadership that those who were in on the secret cannot help but expose it. Regan made the point last week that if his book was embarrassing to the Reagan Administration, "it's only because it's true history." Those who live by the image die by the unmaking of it. —*By Richard Stengel.*

Reported by Barrett Seaman/Washington

The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

In Regan's Defense

In his book *For the Record*, Don Regan manages to violate almost everything he claims to champion—his sense of loyalty, his dedication to his nation. "He is a brilliant man when it comes to analyzing financial matters," says one of his staunch supporters, "but when it comes to himself, he fails."

There is something slightly jarring when one picks up the book and sees the gaudy portrait of the handsome Regan on the cover, then flips it over and sees a photo of Regan whispering into Regan's ear. The prose carries on the visual epic. Don Regan travels the heights undoubting, unerring, all-seeing of the foibles of others, resolute and—hint after hint—the fellow who ought to be running the country and on some dark occasions was.

But Don Regan failed. In politics the only thing that succeeds is success. Regan was canned. That did not happen to his predecessor James Baker, or to his successor Howard Baker. And at the moment, the President retains a great deal of public affection and presides in peace and prosperity. How could the monstrous events Regan describes have taken place without demolishing the Regan presidency, which Regan suggests was headed by a lazy, henpecked Chief Executive and driven by the constant conniving of his wife, a stargazing kook? Regan never solves the equation because it would take an admission that he could not understand or tolerate what was going on in the political world.

His tattling is good reading, factual in its details, grotesquely distorted in its larger view of the meaning and importance of events, and finally, being an act of vengeance, the book tells as much about its narrator as about its intended victims. Aside from the revelation about the astrologer, *For the Record* is of modest note. The President's detachment, lack of curiosity and lassitude have been documented from Day One. The First La-

dy's cunning and meddling in the West Wing affairs are old hat. The confusion, backbiting, scheming and clashing in the corridors of the White House are a staple of democracy. Regan's repeated whining about fitting the President's schedule to the stars hardly merits his apocalyptic hand wringing. Can anyone imagine the difficulties John Kennedy's scheduler must have had running his girls in and out so none confronted another or the family? That person never complained, never explained. The republic survived not knowing until later.

Don Regan's firing, while traumatic to such a self-centered man, is not that much more cruel or bizarre than what happened to Ike's chief of staff Sherman Adams, L.B.J.'s Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, Nixon's Secretary of the Interior Wally Hickel and White House Bunglers Haldeman and Ehrlichman. Regan's banishment has its own twists and turns, but such is life at that level of proud power. Regan's book is a testament to his belief that indulging his anger was more important than the presidency, the White House and the country.

The most damning revelation for Regan has to do with the Geneva summit in 1986. After the bright, bold Raisa Gorbachev had lectured the President on Marxist-Leninist theory at dinner, when the Soviet couple had gone off into the night and the door closed behind them, Regan revealed that Nancy then said, "Who does that dame think she is?"

Does Regan allow no unguarded confidence to remain buried, no tiny measure of trust to be secure? Who has not said something like that at a weary time? But who would print it a few days before the Reagans go to Moscow? Regan's is a long and successful life filled with honor and achievement, including some of his days in the White House. But this book is a dreary and contemptible chapter.



Nation

Washington's Master Leakers

How two crusaders use secret information to manipulate policy

Jesse Helms was making a familiar charge: the Soviets, he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last March, are lying about the number of intermediate-range nuclear missiles aimed at Western Europe. To back up his claim, Helms distributed a chart showing missile estimates from the State Department, the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency. The figures all conflicted, but they had one thing in common: they were highly classified. "They were code-word, code-level items," declared Democratic Senator Brock Adams of Washington, meaning that the documents were restricted even beyond top secret. Yet as committee staffers fanned out to retrieve the missile chart from reporters, Helms insisted that the information was either unclassified or had appeared in news reports. A few days later, a memo written by Senate Aide David Sullivan attributed the most sensitive figures to a series of articles in the *New York City Tribune*, the *Washington Times* and other newspapers.

But *TIME* has been told that the source for at least some of these stories was Sullivan himself. The Senate Republican aide, in other words, had leaked information for articles that he then cited when publishing the classified figures in an attack on the INF treaty.

A month earlier, Michael Pillsbury, an aide to Republican Senator Gordon Humphrey, used similar back-channel methods to influence the Afghanistan peace talks. On a visit to Pakistan, Pillsbury met privately with Maulvi Khalis, the leader of the *mujahedin* rebels, and reportedly told him that the U.S. and the Soviet Union had signed a "secret protocol" at the rebels' expense. "What Pillsbury did was scandalous," says Under Secretary of State Michael Armacost, who heard the story from Pakistani officials. "If there isn't a law against it, there ought to be."

There are laws against leaking classified information, but they are difficult to enforce. While politically motivated leaks are an old Washington tradition, few people have used the technique as audaciously and with such impunity as Sullivan and Pillsbury. For a decade these two conservatives have moved in and out of the different branches of Government, relying on a network of contacts in the bureaucracies and the press to undermine proposals they disagree with. Both are motivated by deep mistrust of the Soviet



Independent contractors: Senate Aide David Sullivan, below, and Michael Pillsbury on Capitol Hill



Union. Sullivan has been an inveterate opponent of arms-control agreements, while Pillsbury has largely directed his efforts toward support of anti-Soviet guerrilla groups.

Both men have a long history of antagonizing officials with their methods. In 1978, when Sullivan was in the CIA's Office of Strategic Research, he became convinced that the agency was suppressing a study he had written based in part on National Security Agency reports he was not authorized to see. So he gave the docu-

ment to Richard Perle, then an aide to Senator Henry Jackson, later an Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Reagan Administration. "The study contained some very sensitive intelligence," recalls former

CIA Director Stansfield Turner, who forced Sullivan to resign from the agency. Hardly slowed by the episode, Sullivan moved to Capitol Hill as an aide to Democratic Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.

Pillsbury was ousted from the staff of the Senate Budget Committee in 1978 for criticizing U.S. Ambassador to Japan Mike Mansfield during a meeting with Japanese officials in Tokyo. While holding a high-level job in the Pentagon from 1984 to 1986, he frequently appealed to friends on Capitol Hill when he felt that the Reagan Administration was not sufficiently supportive of anti-Communist movements in Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan.

Sullivan and his current patron, Helms, oppose the INF agreement because, they say, the Soviets may be hiding a secret arsenal of SS-20 missiles. The Reagan Administration contends that even if this is true, the missiles could never be tested, and would quickly become unreliable.

Articles comparing Soviet SS-20 figures with much higher, classified Defense Intelligence Agency estimates began showing up in conservative newspapers last winter. Citing these reports, several conservative Senators requested a special closed-door session to resolve the issue before bringing the treaty to the Senate floor for debate.

Sullivan denies being the source of any of the leaks. "The allegation is categorically, simply, flatly not true," he told *TIME*. Nevertheless, officials on Capitol Hill point to further indiscretions. One states that Sullivan has repeatedly used secret material on arms control in letters written for Helms and other Senators. "He's got a reckless disregard for the proper handling of classified information," says the official. Sullivan says there is no truth to these allegations.

Michael Pillsbury responds to his critics with a spirited defense of congressional oversight. "They continually malign 'renegades' who come up and work for the Senate," he says of Armacost and others in the Administration. "What they are really saying is they don't want a Senate."

But Pillsbury displayed the same penchant for pursuing a private agenda when he was in the Executive Branch. As Deputy Under Secretary for Defense, he was credited by some with initiating the effort to obtain Stinger anti-aircraft missiles for the *mujahedin*. In April 1986, however, Pillsbury lost his job after he was suspected of leaking word to the Washington

Post that the Administration had finally approved Stingers for rebels in Afghanistan and Angola. Although Pillsbury denies being the source of the leak, an Administration official familiar with the case says Pillsbury failed three lie-detector tests given by the Defense Investigative Service. "The only thing Pillsbury came out clean about was his name," the official said. Pillsbury says a later FBI polygraph cleared him. But authoritative Administration sources flatly contradict his claim.

Officials say Pillsbury was the suspected source for an April 1986 Washington *Post* story revealing that a U.S. em-

bassy official arrested and tortured by the Ethiopian government two years earlier had been a CIA agent. The story may have endangered the lives of the CIA officer's Ethiopian contacts.

Pillsbury's final offense was to cross swords with the President. While lobbying for military aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*, Reagan struck a gentleman's agreement with Democratic Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona that Stingers would not be dispatched to Central America. Opposed to the deal, Pillsbury contacted his conservative Senate backers and, say Administration officials, lobbied against it. When the

White House learned of Pillsbury's meddling, he was declared persona non grata; the Pentagon began an investigation of his suspected leaks and he was soon fired.

But like Sullivan, Pillsbury quickly recovered from his breach of faith. Within two months, he was back on the Hill working as an adviser to a group of conservative Senators. No sooner had he settled into his new job, he says, than "phones here all lit up. It was my old friends [inside the Government] saying, 'Let's go to lunch. We have so much to tell you.'"

—By Laurence Luckemba

Reported by Jay Peterzell/Washington

Above Their Own Laws

Congress does unto others what it will not do unto itself

► By one count, only 61 of the 2,500 senior policy staff members working for the Senate are black. There are, however, no exact records—because Congress has exempted itself from equal-opportunity and affirmative-action laws.

► House Speaker Jim Wright's office catches fire, but there are no sprinklers. The laws requiring them do not apply to the Capitol or other federal buildings.

► A controversy erupts over dangerous working conditions in the Capitol's mail-folding room, where newsletters are processed. Congress does not fall under the occupational safety and health (OSHA) regulations that bedevil other employers.

► Legislators are about to decide whether to raise the federal minimum-wage level for the first time in seven years. At the moment, however, the minimum-wage laws do not protect the 15,000 people who work for Congress.

► Congressional Aide Tom Pappas leaps to his death after it is revealed that for years he engaged in unorthodox employment practices, including advertising for single young men (photographs requested) and making unusual demands on their social lives. Congress has exempted itself from equal-employment laws that might prevent such practices in private industry.

► Michael Deaver and Lyn Nofziger face jail terms because their lobbying ran afoul of the Ethics in Government Law. Congressmen and their staffers who become lobbyists and do the same things have no fear: the law does not apply to them.

Congress's attitude, says Senator John Glenn, "is the rankest form of hypocrisy. Laws that are good enough for everybody else ought to be good enough for us." Instead, Congress has exempted itself from a broad array of laws covering civil rights,

minimum wages, and safety requirements and discrimination. "Congress would exempt itself from the laws of gravity if it could," says Illinois Congressman Henry Hyde.

As a result, practices that would provoke lawsuits elsewhere go virtually unnoticed on Capitol Hill. "We have Congressmen who discriminate against



blacks, against whites, against Hispanics, against women," says Wyoming Senator Alan Simpson. Says Jackie Parker of the Senate Black Legislative Caucus: "There are offices that employ no blacks at all." An investigation found that of the 152 Senate employees earning more than \$70,000 a year, only 18 are women.

One place on Capitol Hill where most employees are black is the House folding room. Workers there complain that they are sometimes forced to labor 70-hour

weeks under sweatshop conditions. A House committee found that the dingy basement room has poor air circulation and that it exposes workers to noxious fumes.

Defenders of congressional exemptions point out that legislators face special pressures: they often need to employ home-district personnel or friends of supporters. Stanley Brand, a former general counsel to the House, says Congress historically has not placed itself under the yoke of various laws to protect itself from inter-Government conflicts. Imagine, he says, the Justice Department using charges of job discrimination to harass unfriendly Congressmen. Besides, "the reality of going before the voters and seeking election should force Congressmen to behave," he says.

Realizing the weakness of such arguments, Illinois Congresswoman Lynn Martin last week introduced legislation that would place congressional employees, as well as workers of the federal judiciary, under federal civil rights and employment laws. She says that if her proposal had been law, the Pappas tragedy "could have been avoided."

Another bill, expanding the Ethics in Government Law, has passed the Senate but is facing stiff opposition in the House. It would impose the same one-year lobbying restrictions that apply to people leaving the Executive Branch on those who leave the Legislative Branch. Some of the most effective opposition has been mounted by

staffers who see their future careers hindered. Persuading Congress to whittle away any of its exemptions will be difficult. Hyde notes that the tradition of a double standard runs deep in Washington and Congress has never shown much enthusiasm for curbing its own privileges. Introducing legislation that reminds Congress of its hypocrisy, says Texas Congressman Steve Bartlett, "is a little like bringing a skunk to a garden party."

—By Jerome Cramer/Washington

Nation

Dukakis' Type of Place

The Kennedy School tries to make governing a science

Harvard University has given the country five Presidents, and Michael Dukakis might make six. After his humiliating 1978 defeat for a second term as Governor, Dukakis fled to the sanctuary offered by Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, the university's newest professional school. When he regained the governorship four years later, he proclaimed that his second term would be a "test of what I have learned and what we try to teach at the school."

And so too would be a Dukakis presidency. The cool, detached Dukakis style is very much the Kennedy School style; both have been criticized for emphasizing management and competence at the expense of feeling and ideological ardor.

From the start, the Kennedy School's mission—to create a "public policy profession," in Harvard President Derek Bok's words—has been controversial. To the tweedy professors at the university who like their professions traditional and their academics pure, the new training ground smacks of a trade school for bloodless bureaucrats. To those who think governing emanates as much from the heart as the brain, the Kennedy School is, like Dukakis, too systematic and process-oriented. It is politics for non-emoters comfortable with decision trees and regression analyses.

The Kennedy School acquired its name and much of its endowment in 1966 from a bequest by the late President's family. But its greatest growth has come since 1977, when Graham Allison, an academic with a flair for salesmanship, became dean. Since then, the faculty has increased from 12 to 85 and the student body from 200 to 700 degree students, along with 600 nondegree students. The school's modern red brick complex on the banks of the Charles River contains nine research centers, ranging from the Center for Science and International Affairs to the Institute for the Study of Smoking Behavior and Policy. A new center for press, politics and public policy is headed by former Newsman Marvin Kalb.

Allison's mandate from Bok was to make the school the financial and academic equal of Harvard's other graduate schools. He has succeeded at the former. In ten years he has increased the endowment from \$20 million to \$450 million. But compared with the older schools at the university, says Harvard Vice President John Shattuck, it "is still the new kid on the block working to define its mission." Its efforts to be taken seriously academically are hampered by its high visibility as a kind of Betty Ford clinic for recovering politicians: Geraldine Ferraro, David Stockman, David Gergen and former Senator John Culver have had stints there.

The rigorous Mid-Career Public Administration program has come to be known as the "mid-life crisis program." The school is also suspect as a relatively painless way to give a Harvard gloss to an undergraduate degree from a land-grant college and for its networking possibilities. Says a participant: "Where else can a former mayor from Waco, Texas, sit around and chat with former Governors and Senators and attend classes taught by Presidential Scholar Richard Neustadt?" Even government officials seek the school's cachet: a staffer jokes that he heard of a visitor who spoke at a luncheon and immediately added

missions, even to nondegree programs, especially if it means government bureaucrats will be wandering the hallowed halls. Like the school he heads, Allison is more at Harvard than of Harvard. Although recruited by Harvard for football, he attended North Carolina's Davidson College for two years and then transferred to Harvard.

Despite his reputation as a fund raiser, Allison is well regarded as an academic for his highly respected work on policymaking, *Essence of Decision*. Therein lies another irony. Allison's book stresses the human dimensions and intangible factors involved in governmental decisions. The school, however, in its efforts to cloak itself in academic rigor, tries to treat public policy as a science. It emphasizes the study of value-free analytic tools designed to make public officials more professional



Graham Allison presides over a well-endowed training ground for the governmental elite

Like Dukakis, the school prizes an analytic approach to the science of decision making.

"Lecturer, Harvard University, Fall Semester" to his résumé.

Allison has been faulted for being more interested in expanding the Kennedy School than in deepening it, selling the Harvard name in the process. In one particularly creative fund-raising effort last year, the dean appeared to be offering an oil-rich Texas couple positions as officers of the university in exchange for a \$500,000 gift. The plan was quickly nixed by Bok, and Allison insisted that the proposal was only a draft he had not fully read. The school also incurred the wrath of the rest of the university in 1986, when Allison awarded a Kennedy School medal to Attorney General Edwin Meese III for "distinguished public service." Allison says the medal was just a token of appreciation to Meese for speaking during the school's 50th-birthday activities.

But much of the criticism of Allison comes because he is not traditional enough for some Harvard tastes. Old-line Harvard professors do not like open ad-

and competent. Allison, for example, has served as a one-day-a-week consultant to former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger yet is actively supporting Dukakis for President.

Dukakis, who once taught Institutional Leadership and the Agency Manager at the Kennedy School, has seemed similarly infected with a tendency to emphasize the process of policymaking rather than its content. But just as Dukakis has sought to add emotion and vision to his message, so too has Allison been working to shift the emphasis of the Kennedy School away from courses such as Strategies and Tactics for Managing Information Systems and toward an emphasis on elective politics and more offerings such as Political Leadership. In an observation about the Kennedy School that applies just as well to the school's candidate for President, Allison says: "It's harder to teach vision and leadership and the visceral elements of politics. But we have to do more of it, and we will." —By Margaret Carlson/Cambridge



Gator X-ing.

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American Notes



ALASKA An F-15 "caps" a Bear near the Aleutians



WILDLIFE Stay home and breed



NEW ORLEANS Saving a Cabildo painting

ALASKA

Arctic Bears On the Prowl

Even as the U.S. and the Soviet Union discuss deep cuts in nuclear missiles, a different Soviet threat is appearing on a new front. Last Thursday, two newly modified Tu-95 "Bear" long-range bombers, flying out of Siberia, were spotted winging toward Alaska's southwest coast. Two F-15 interceptors scrambled to put a "cap" on top of the aircraft, until the bombers turned back 115 miles from U.S. territory. On May Day, two high-flying Bears closed to within 50 miles of Alaska; then an AWACS surveillance plane picked up two more Soviet bombers coming in low to avoid ground radar. Air Force fighters quickly capped those planes as well.

Soviet mock-bombing sorties, unlike the traditional reconnoitering flights practiced by both superpowers, have become increasingly common in the past year, according to *Aviation Week & Space Technology*. In the early 1980s the Alaskan Air Command intercepted only ten to 15 Soviet scout flights annually, but already this year U.S. F-15s have confronted 20 Bears. Each Soviet bomber is armed with as many as ten cruise missiles with a range of 1,500 miles; from Alaskan airspace, these weapons could reach U.S. missile sites in the Dakotas and Montana.

WASHINGTON

Ollie, the Artful Dodger

With lawyers to intercept his mail and bodyguards to screen his movements, the fugitive managed to elude the U.S. Capitol police for ten days. Finally, a stakeout caught him at a stoplight near his home in Great Falls, Va. Running in a half crouch, Sergeant Tom Moore sprinted past a backup car of security men, reached through the auto's open window and slapped his quarry on the chest with a congressional subpoena. "O.K., you got me," the captive conceded.

A drug kingpin? No, the fugitive was Oliver North, whose disdain for congressional investigators is legendary. This time a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee is demanding to see North's diaries, which may mention drug dealers who were mixed up with the Nicaraguan *contras*. In spite of the subpoena, North refused to surrender. He invoked his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination.

DRUGS

Riding High on The Rails

The investigators' conclusions were troublesome but familiar: the Federal Railroad Administration announced last week that five workers involved in

an April 6 commuter-train crash in Mount Vernon, N.Y., had used morphine, marijuana or codeine before the accident.

It should have been no surprise. Transportation Secretary James Burnley pointed out that since the drug-related Amtrak crash in Chase, Md., that killed 16 passengers in January 1987, there have been 37 railroad accidents in which one or more employees tested positive for illegal substances. "We don't need another rail disaster involving drugs to tell us that the railroad industry is not exempt from the drug epidemic," said Burnley, who has proposed random testing for workers in safety-related jobs.

WILDLIFE

Saying No to Panda-monium

In cultivating good relations with the U.S., China may have to stop playing the panda card. Last week the World Wildlife Fund and the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums filed suit in federal court in Washington to halt the shipment of two giant pandas from Shanghai to the Toledo Zoo. Experts contend that the endangered species' population has fallen below 1,000 and that the 100 pandas in captivity reproduce at a lower rate than those in the wild.

For currency-hungry China, the pandas are more popu-

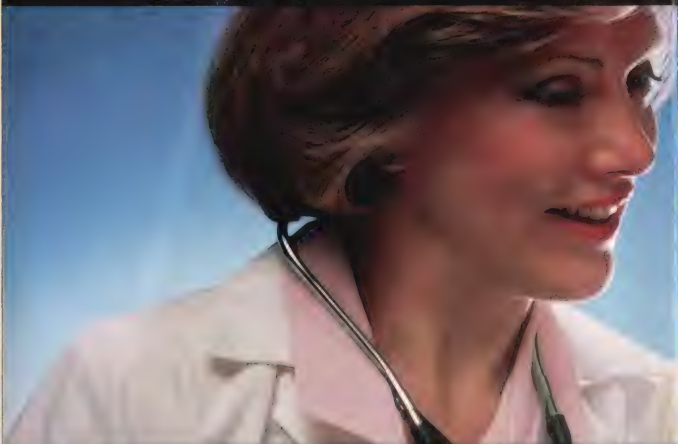
lar ambassadors than Ping-Pong players. China rents out the animals for as much as \$500,000 apiece for six months, while zoos rake in huge profits from increased attendance and souvenir sales. Says A.A.Z.P.A. Executive Director Robert Wagner: "If we don't watch what we're doing, we could lose the giant panda into extinction in the next five years." Although Toledo will probably get its pandas, future short-term loans are in doubt.

NEW ORLEANS

History in Ashes

Workers were busy last week restoring the roof of the Cabildo, New Orleans' 1795 landmark, when a fire apparently ignited by their soldering irons did the opposite. The blaze destroyed the mansard roof and cupola of the Louisiana State Museum, as the building is officially known, and its third floor. Fire fighters went inside while the roof was still burning to rescue portraits and historical artifacts. But historical furniture and some works of art were ruined. The Cabildo, where the Louisiana Purchase was completed in 1803, is regarded as one of America's most treasured landmarks. Fortunately, thanks to the firemen's quick reflexes, many irreplaceable objects survived, including a bronze death mask of Napoleon Bonaparte.

CAR



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World

EAST-WEST

No More Mr. Tough Guy?

The Afghanistan pullout is part of a slick new Soviet diplomatic offensive

At muster points in besieged garrison towns around Afghanistan, sentries in camouflage uniforms guard mounds of duffel bags, stripped-down weapons and communications gear. The streets teem with jeeps, armored personnel carriers, trucks, tanks, half-tracks, command cars, vans, ambulances. The vehicles are the beasts of burden for a caravan of retreat and defeat that will begin this week to wend its way through the rugged passes of the Hindu Kush, north toward home along the Salang Highway, which stretches from Kabul to the Soviet border. The road was a "gift" from the U.S.S.R. to the people of Afghanistan in the 1960s. Western experts noted at the time that it would make an ideal invasion route. So it did in 1979, when the Kremlin decided to extend "fraternal assistance" to the beleaguered Afghan Communist regime. Soon the highway will prove useful once again, as the 115,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, whom the Kremlin described nine long years ago as a "temporary contingent," begin heading home.

Their departure could mean the end of one of the longest, chilliest episodes in the cold war. It also offers the most dramatic evidence to date that Soviet foreign policy may be changing for the better. Certainly that is how General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev wants the move to be seen.

In Moscow next week Gorbachev is scheduled to hold his fourth summit meeting with Ronald Reagan. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze were in Geneva last week making the final arrangements for the session. On the eve of the summit, Gorbachev is hoping that by cutting his losses in Afghanistan, he will win friends and influence governments around the globe. If he can allay concerns about Soviet intentions from the Pacific to the Caribbean, Gorbachev may persuade

a mistrustful world to lower its guard and permit more maneuvering room for Soviet diplomacy. To that end, he wants to restore the atmosphere of détente that the invasion of Afghanistan did so much to destroy nearly a decade ago.

Hard-liners in the West were quick to denounce the invasion as a first step toward the seizure of the oil fields and warm-water ports of the Persian Gulf, and as part of a continuing overall Soviet design for the conquest of the world. More moderate experts, like Diplomat and Historian George Kennan, the father of the doctrine that the U.S. and its allies must "contain" Soviet expansionism around the globe, had another explanation. They believed that Leonid Brezhnev and the other Kremlin gerontocrats were seeking a buffer zone against Islamic ferment in Iran, much as Joseph Stalin had erected the Iron Curtain to protect the U.S.S.R. against its enemies in the West after World War II.

Whatever the motivation, Soviet expansionism was widely seen as a major threat to vital Western interests and world peace. Leonid Brezhnev's Soviet Union, like Stalin's, would not feel entirely secure until all other nations felt entirely insecure. Predatory or paranoid, the old men in the Kremlin seemed determined to continue playing the "Great Game" much as Rudyard Kipling had described it a hundred years before, when Czarist Russia and the British Raj maneuvered for influence among the tribes of the Hindu Kush.

For a while, the Soviets seemed to be winning almost everywhere. From Kampuchea in Southeast Asia to Angola and Ethiopia in Africa to Nicaragua in Latin America, Kremlin-backed or Kremlin-installed regimes had an ominous look of permanence. After all, Soviet power, once entrenched beyond its own borders, had never allowed itself to be dislodged by local resistance. There was no reason to

Latin America and the Caribbean

- ▶Cutting back on oil shipments to Nicaragua and offering to discuss an end to Soviet support for the Sandinistas.
- ▶Hinting at need for economic reform in Cuba, thus angering Fidel Castro.
- ▶Signing new commercial agreements with Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina.

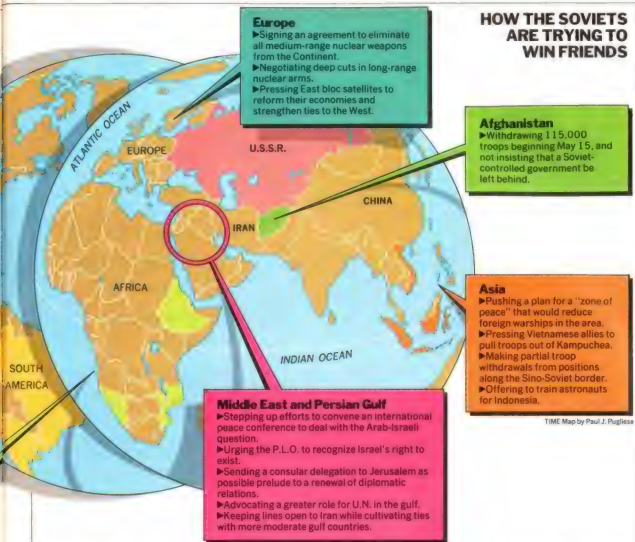
Africa

- ▶Encouraging market-oriented reforms to spur agricultural production in drought-plagued Ethiopia.
- ▶Allowing Soviet-backed government in Angola to begin negotiations to end a 13-year civil war.
- ▶Reducing military aid to Mozambique.

think Afghanistan would be different. Quite the contrary, tucked up against the soft underbelly of Soviet Central Asia, that benighted country seemed to have become virtually a 16th republic of the U.S.S.R.

The view from Red Square, however, was different. The Soviet army was bogged down in a no-win war against determined enemies who were fighting for their own land. The Communists' often savage tactics provoked protests around the world, increasing sympathy for the *mujahedin*. A popular American President had advanced a new, more assertive variant of containment, the so-called Reagan Doctrine of support for anti-Communist insurgents. Moreover, the war was an impediment to Soviet diplomacy. Wherever Moscow's emissaries went, especially in the Arab and Islamic worlds, the first question was "What about Afghanistan?"

Within a month after becoming General Secretary in 1985, Gorbachev set about to cauterize the wound. In the



TIME Map by Paul J. Pugliese

weeks ahead. Gorbachev and his comrades must be prepared for the spectacle of their abandoned Afghan quislings hanging for their lives from the undercarriages of Hind helicopters as they lift off from the Soviet embassy roof—or hanging dead from the lampposts in Kabul.

But Gorbachev realizes that if there is pain in the pullout, there can also be gain. Even before the retreat began, the Soviet leader and his spokesmen were using it as Exhibit A in a campaign to convince international public opinion that the U.S.S.R. now has a more benign foreign policy. "Even the professional Russia-haters must now admit that things have changed, and they've changed for the better," says Georgi Arbatov, the Kremlin's best-known America watcher. "We are going to do something terrible to you—we are going to deprive you of an enemy." Gorbachev would have the world believe he is ready to do with the cold war what he is starting to do with the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan: he is declaring it over.

The watchwords for Gorbachev's brand of diplomacy are "new thinking," "mutual security" and "interdependence." What the Soviet Union needs, Gorbachev said not long ago, is a "modern foreign policy for the late 20th century." According to him, the Great Game is simply too dangerous to play by the old rules in the age of nuclear weapons; the objectives must be changed so that the superpowers no longer deal with each other on a zero-sum, I-win-you-lose basis: "Less security for the U.S. compared to the Soviet Union would not be in our interest, since it could lead to mistrust and produce instability."

But as Andrei Gromyko, the perennial sourpuss of Soviet diplomacy, used to say when reacting to peaceful rhetoric from the West, "One must distinguish between words and deeds." That advice has always applied particularly to the U.S.S.R. Soviet foreign policy has been marked by tactical retreats and no-more-Mr.-Tough-Guy public relations campaigns before. In 1919 Vladimir Lenin

cautioned his Foreign Minister, Georgi Chicherin, who was preparing to address an international conference in Genoa, "Never mind the hard language." Lenin pursued conciliatory policies toward Poland and the then independent Baltic states. By the 1940s, those nations had all been brutally incorporated into the Soviet empire.

As a result, U.S. policymakers are skeptical as they look for further evidence—an Exhibit B or C—that the Soviet Union is changing its deeds as well as its words. To date, they see plenty of signs beyond Afghanistan that the Kremlin has adopted a slicker diplomacy. But the substance is still often flimsy and the objective is still competitive. Michael Armacost, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, has been conducting talks with Soviet officials on what he calls "super-regional" issues—trouble spots like the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, which could ignite a clash between the superpowers. "We and the Soviets are necessary partners on some issues, like avoid-

World

ing nuclear war, preventing local crises from becoming wider confrontations, and defusing regional conflicts," says Armacost. "But we're also geopolitical rivals. That hasn't changed. The Soviets will continue to try to erode the strategic advantages of the U.S. They will do so, however, in a more adroit and sophisticated manner than the old crowd."

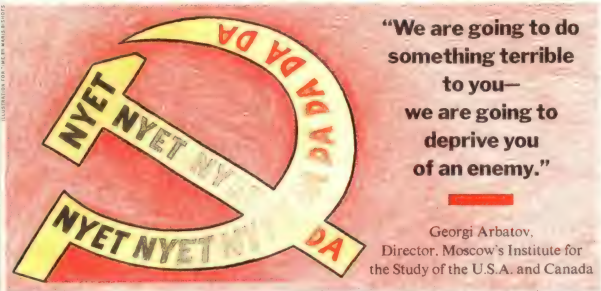
The most obvious example is the Soviet Union's conduct of its all-important relationship with the U.S., especially in nuclear-arms control. Gromyko had a penchant for saying *nyet* to American proposals. The new crowd has mastered

aggressive in the use, or threatened use, of military force—at least, not so far—but rather in the pursuit of influence and propaganda points at the expense of the U.S. "The Soviets are more attentive to the diplomatic methods of solving a problem, as opposed merely to relying on blatant displays of raw muscle," says Armacost. "But they're also using diplomacy in pursuit of their traditional goal of hemming us in where necessary, rolling us back where possible."

In the Middle East Gorbachev has stepped up efforts to convene an international conference to promote an Arab-

Soviets have become a status quo power in parts of the world where they were once bent on stirring up trouble. Now Soviet client states and puppet governments are themselves in trouble.

In Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Kampuchea, leftist leaderships in the capitals are battling nationalist resistance movements in the hills and the jungles. Supporting those regimes is expensive enough for Moscow even without the challenge of local anti-Communist insurgencies. And with Gorbachev focusing on whipping the Soviet Union's shaky economy into shape, Mos-



"We are going to do something terrible to you—we are going to deprive you of an enemy."

Georgi Arbatov,
Director, Moscow's Institute for
the Study of the U.S.A. and Canada

the politics of *da*. Gorbachev has spun out a dizzying array of initiatives, and he has agreed to U.S. proposals that Western negotiators thought the Soviets would never accept.

When, at the Washington summit in December, Gorbachev signed the treaty eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles, he received more credit for accepting the zero option than Reagan got for having proposed it in 1981. Gorbachev achieved, as part of the deal, the long-standing Soviet aim of forcing the removal of all U.S. missiles from Europe. Congressional concerns about some details of that treaty led the Senate last week to postpone ratification, but in Geneva last Thursday, Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze seemed to have cleared up the remaining points of ambiguity. There is still deep suspicion in the U.S. that the Soviets are sharpies who out-negotiate Americans and then cheat on whatever agreement is reached.

In his new book, 1999, former President Richard Nixon warns, "Under Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's foreign policy has been more skillful and subtle than ever before. But it has been more aggressive, not less." The Soviets have not been

Israeli peace settlement, with the Soviet Union and the U.S. as co-chairmen. In the Persian Gulf Gorbachev is urging a greater role for the U.N.—and, correspondingly, a lesser one for the U.S. Navy. In Southeast Asia he is peddling a plan for a so-called zone of peace that would make it harder for the American Seventh Fleet to operate in the area.

These are all examples, says Richard Solomon, who holds Kennan's old post as director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, of how the Soviets are practicing their own version of countercontainment. "They are trying to engage us in collective procedures, international organizations and multilateral arrangements that will constrain our ability to act on our own," says Solomon. A deputy to George Shultz calls this strategy the "hug of the bear."

The good news for the West is that the bear may be relying less on fangs and claws to get his way. Historically, the Soviet Union has been in the business of franchising revolution. That was the aim of the Comintern of the 1930s and '40s and of the Moscow-backed "wars of national liberation" under Nikita Khrushchev in the '50s and '60s. In recent years, however, the

cow is not in a generous mood. Were it not for its size and military strength, the U.S.S.R. itself would qualify as a Third World country. Not surprisingly, its clones around the real Third World are basket cases. Last year Cuba and Viet Nam each cost Moscow more than \$3 billion, while Soviet subsidies to the governments of Angola, Ethiopia and Nicaragua ran at about \$1 billion each. In all instances, 70% to 90% of the total was for military aid.

Gorbachev has put the leaders of all those countries on notice that as the Soviet Union turns its attention and resources to *perestroika* at home, it is not going to throw good money after bad abroad. Pro-Soviet regimes will thus be forced to do some restructuring of their own. To some extent that means demilitarizing their economies and therefore their foreign policies. This has already caused strains with Cuban Leader Fidel Castro, who managed to miss two of Gorbachev's speeches during the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Union in Moscow last November.

Meanwhile, the Kremlin is trying to acquire influence among countries whose enemies the U.S.S.R. has traditionally

supported. In the Middle East there are signs that the Soviets may finally be willing to put more pressure on the Arabs. Gorbachev has publicly urged Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization to recognize the existence and "legitimate rights" of Israel. A Soviet consular delegation is now in Jerusalem, sent officially to discuss Russian Orthodox Church property in Israel but also as a possible prelude to the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, which Moscow broke off during the Six-Day War in 1967.

In the gulf, Moscow is trying to keep lines open to Iran—in hopes, no doubt, that the U.S.S.R. will fare better with a post-Khomeini leadership than it has with the Ayatollah himself. But the Soviets are also cultivating better ties with the conservative and moderate Arab states of the region.

On the Korean peninsula, Moscow remains the Communist North's principal supplier of military aid, including modern MiG-23 warplanes, but the Soviets want to cultivate trade and other ties with South Korea. That is largely why Soviet Olympians will be going for the gold in Seoul this summer rather than staying home. As a result, the U.S.S.R. has an incentive to use its leverage to prevent an attempt by the North to disrupt the Games.

The Kremlin would like to improve relations with China as well as with the six member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Singapore, Brunei, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia). Moscow has appointed one of its ablest younger diplomats, Oleg Sokolov, as ambassador to Manila. Sokolov has been doing his best to fan opposition to the strategically crucial U.S. naval and air bases in the Philippines. But Soviet diplomacy will not fare well in Beijing and with ASEAN so long as the Kremlin's ally in the area, Viet Nam, is hunkered down in Kampuchea and intimidating other neighbors with its bloated military power. So the Kremlin's Deputy Foreign Minister for Asia, Igor Rogachev, another polished, new-breed diplomat, has been putting out quiet but unmistakable signals to officials in Hanoi that the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan might provide a "model" for the Vietnamese to follow in Kampuchea.

In all these cases, the Soviets want to play both sides against the middle—and against the U.S. if they can get away with it—but apparently not at the cost of greatly increased regional tensions, much less global ones. Armacost recalls that George Kennan, in formulating the concept of containment four decades ago, predicted that over time the Soviet Union would pay more attention to reform at home and consolidation of its position abroad than to expansionism and adventurism. Concludes Armacost: "To some degree, that's what's at work here." And if that is the case, then Gorbachev represents not just a challenge but also a welcome and promising change for the U.S. and its friends around the world.

—By Strobe Talbot

Washington

NATO: Alliance à la Carte?

A Danish election raises the issue of pick-and-choose defense

Even as Moscow pursued a conciliatory tack in foreign and military policy, NATO was facing new internal challenges to its cohesion. In Denmark last week, conservative Prime Minister Poul Schlüter led his coalition government into what he called a "very decisive election" that focused on the country's future role within the 16-nation Western Alliance. He had called the vote after the opposition passed a motion strengthening a 31-year-old ban, never enforced, against nuclear-armed naval vessels' visiting Danish ports. Strict observation of that prohibition would severely hamper the operations of NATO warships in Denmark's waters. Implicitly, the Prime Minister was raising a key question: How far can a small country go in assuming lesser risks and obligations than its partners in a military alliance?

Last week 3.9 million voters gave a characteristically vague answer. Though Schlüter's center-right four-party minority coalition emerged with an unchanged bloc of 70 seats in the 179-member Folketing, he resigned as Prime Minister. Social Democrat Svend Jakobsen, the Speaker of Parliament, was entrusted by Queen Margrethe with the task of finding a government alignment that could win majority support. Schlüter was confident that Jakobsen would fail and he would be reappointed.

Even if Schlüter and his allies eventually win the latest skirmish, Danish ambivalence toward NATO is unlikely to fade. Defense spending has dwindled to 2.1% of the country's gross domestic product, one of the lowest rates in the alliance. (Norway, by contrast, spends 3.1%.) Since 1965 the armed forces have been roughly halved, to 29,000 personnel.

Some U.S. military planners saw the Denmark imbroglio as an example of the oft-heard U.S. charge that several prosperous alliance members are "getting a free ride" on defense. As in Denmark, op-

position parties elsewhere have threatened to overturn longstanding defense arrangements if they are voted into power. The British Labor Party and the West German Social Democrats, for example, oppose U.S. nuclear weapons on their territory.

Nor is this a la carte approach to alliance membership confined to nuclear-deployment issues. France began the trend in 1966 when Charles de Gaulle closed down NATO bases and pulled his country out of the alliance's integrated command structure. Spain followed a similar tack in 1982: it joined NATO but kept its forces out of the chain of joint European command based outside Brussels. Last January, Madrid went a step further by ordering the U.S. to withdraw its 72 F-16 jet fighters from Torrejón air base. Greece has raised questions about U.S. bases on its soil. Such actions, says a senior U.S. commander, "make our job of deterrence more difficult and make Congress less willing to vote funds."

On May 26 NATO defense ministers are scheduled to meet in Brussels to ponder those issues and look at what Western Europe might do to stop the grumbling in the U.S. One answer: greater spending by the West Europeans. With a combined gross domestic product of \$4.3 trillion, they are as strong economically as the U.S., and their total population of 374 million is one-third larger than that of the U.S. The likelihood that defense outlays will increase is dim, however, since European economic growth rates are slowing. Another inhibiting factor, a senior U.S. official notes, is that "arms talks are making progress and détente is in the air." And just as crises tend to pull NATO together, any easing of East-West tensions tends to magnify the forces pulling the alliance apart.

—By Frederick Painton

Reported by Julian Isherwood/Copenhagen and Christopher Redman/Paris



U.S. F-16 jet fighters in flight over Spain: last January Madrid ordered the aircraft withdrawn

FRANCE

Holding Most of the Cards

After a stunning win, Mitterrand plays his ace: a snap election

In days of yore the defeated general would have handed over his sword and scabbard on the field of battle. In France last week, the vanquished paid homage to the victor during a tense nine-minute ceremony in a brocaded Louis XV-style study of the Elysée Palace, in which Jacques Chirac tendered his resignation as Premier to the adversary who had beaten him at the polls two days before: re-elected President François Mitterrand. Then Mitterrand got cracking. Over the next 48 hours he gave France a new Pre-

lie's first minority government, will stay in place during the short campaign. It includes many familiar Socialist heavyweights, among them Roland Dumas in his former post as Foreign Minister, Pierre Bérégovoy as Finance Minister, Pierre Joxe as Interior Minister and Jack Lang as Culture Minister. The novelty is provided by a limited number of non-Socialists, including Centrist Senator Michel Durafour as Civil Service Minister, Supreme Court Jurist Pierre Arpaillange as Justice Minister and Businessman Roger

cluding the ace-in-the-hole option of calling a snap parliamentary election. Polls show that the Socialists stand to win 37% in the new parliamentary vote. Under the current majority voting system, that translates to more than half of the 577 seats in the National Assembly. Accordingly, many old-line Socialists urged Mitterrand to capitalize on his momentum by holding a new vote that could overturn Chirac's 1986 parliamentary majority.

The presidential election put the defeated conservatives in disarray. The center-right Union for French Democracy (U.D.F.), which supported former Premier Raymond Barre in the first round of voting in April, found itself torn by new rivalries for the leadership and cowed by the tacit threat of a parliamentary election. Consequently, the U.D.F. was wrangling over what position it should take toward the new government. Outgoing Culture Minister François Léotard flatly criticized it, though he refrained from recommending a censure vote. Former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing spoke benignly of a "constructive opposition." Outgoing Transport Minister Pierre Méhaignerie and former European Parliament President Simone Veil hinted at possible support for a Socialist government in the future if its policies prove acceptable. Chirac's neo-Gaullist Rally for the Republic (R.P.R.) party found itself just as demoralized but at least united behind what Assembly Whip Pierre Messmer called "intelligent opposition," meaning a tough stand that will stop short of systematic naysaying. Chirac himself is still mayor of Paris but otherwise faces an uncertain future.



Socialist Premier Michel Rocard takes over his new office in the Matignon

mier, moderate Socialist Michel Rocard; a new 26-member Cabinet that includes six non-Socialist independents; and a cautious start toward a new consensus-seeking brand of politics. Pledged Rocard: "My commitment is to all those in France today who have anxieties about their future, their jobs and their safety—no matter how they voted in the election."

To bolster Rocard's chances of eventual success, Mitterrand last weekend called a snap parliamentary election. In a televised statement, he announced that he was dissolving the National Assembly and summoning voters to the polls on June 5 and 12. His aim: to win Rocard a parliamentary majority. Rocard, 57, is a pragmatic self-described social democrat who launched an aborted challenge to Mitterrand's candidacy in 1981 and opposed the sweeping nationalizations that followed the Socialist victory that year. A former Agriculture Minister, Rocard has consistently emerged in opinion polls as one of France's most popular politicians.

Rocard's Cabinet, the Fifth Repub-

lic's first minority government, will stay in place during the short campaign. It includes many familiar Socialist heavyweights, among them Roland Dumas in his former post as Foreign Minister, Pierre Bérégovoy as Finance Minister, Pierre Joxe as Interior Minister and Jack Lang as Culture Minister. The novelty is provided by a limited number of non-Socialists, including Centrist Senator Michel Durafour as Civil Service Minister, Supreme Court Jurist Pierre Arpaillange as Justice Minister and Businessman Roger

Fauroux as Industry and Foreign Trade Minister. Last week senior Mitterrand aides telephoned eight members of the outgoing conservative Cabinet to sound them out about serving under Rocard. All refused. Mitterrand, however, believes that after new elections many centrists and even moderate conservatives will change their minds.

With that, the first stage of Mitterrand's plan to shift the country's political axis was in place. During the last five years of his seven-year first term, the President determinedly changed his own political color from radical to pragmatist. Now he wants a government that is still steered by Socialists but "open" to other, middle-of-the-road currents. In a second stage, the President wants to form a center-left coalition government composed of both Socialists and leading members of the current center-right parties that have been backing Chirac.

Mitterrand's 54%-to-46% win over Chirac was not just decisive, but daunting. It left him holding most of the cards—in-

Only the far-right National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen, the other "winner" of the election, with a surprising 14.5% of the vote in the first round, declared full and outright opposition. Le Pen, who on election night pugnaciously called the rest of the political right "suicidal" and the "dumbest in the world" for refusing a pact with him, thrust himself forward as leader of the "national, popular opposition" and the "only real alternative to Socialist power."

Mainstream politicians on both sides quietly planned ways to cut the National Front down to size. Mitterrand told Socialist leaders that Le Pen's sizable following is a problem that the party must solve in the next three years. Chirac's Gaullists plan to run joint R.P.R.-U.D.F. tickets against Le Pen's candidates to magnify the disadvantage a small party like the National Front already faces under the majority voting system. "That way, in the parliamentary election, we can cut the National Front down from the 34 seats it has now to a mere handful," a Gaullist Deputy vowed angrily. "The National Front has made fools of us long enough. We have to kill it," he said, and made a slicing gesture across his throat.

—By Jordan Bonfante/Paris

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Three Years in the Belly of Beirut

A freed French hostage recounts the horrors of his captivity

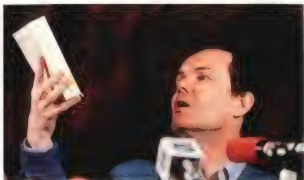
"They weren't human or inhuman. They were nonhuman." That was how French Journalist Jean-Paul Kauffmann, quoting fellow hostage Michel Seurat, described the pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad terrorists who held him hostage for three years. The wrenching account of his kidnapping, captivity and release appeared last week in *L'Evenement du Jeudi*, the French newsmagazine Kauffmann worked for when he and French Researcher Seurat were abducted in May 1985.

The two men became hostages by chance after missing a Beirut airport bus and deciding to take a taxi. When a Mercedes pulled alongside and ordered them to stop, they expected a robbery. Instead they were forced into the back of the gunmen's car. What followed was three years of intimidation and psychological torture.

For more than a year, the hostages never saw daylight. Their only diversion was reading the handful of books provided by their jailers; Kauffmann read *War and Peace* more than 20 times. At one point, he and Seurat listened while their Shi'ite captors spent eight days torturing an Arab suspect of being a spy. When it was over, Kauffmann's jailer joked, "I damaged him a little. He had two broken ribs. We broke both his legs. Finally he talked, and we set him free." Freedom, Kauffmann learned, was a euphemism for death.

In one of the most bizarre episodes,

Seurat was allowed a brief visit in August 1985 with his wife and daughters in Beirut, and then returned to the cell loaded down with sociology books. It was the last time he saw his family. A month later, he was deathly ill with hepatitis. A Lebanese Jewish doctor, Elie Hallat, who was also a hostage, pleaded in vain for Seurat's re-



Kauffmann waves the copy of *War and Peace* that he read for diversion. A chilling tale of brutality, intimidation and psychological torture.

lease. As his condition worsened, a Shi'ite commander volunteered a transfusion. "You are becoming a Shi'ite," joked a captor after Seurat was given blood. In fact, the researcher was dying. By then French Hostages Marcel Carton and Marcel Fontaine had been added to the group. "So I am going to die," Seurat told his friends.

In March 1986, the Islamic Jihad announced that it had "executed" Seurat. It seems likely, however, that he succumbed, at 39, to his disease. But the jail-

ers told the hostages he was alive and recovering in a hospital. Kauffmann later learned from a radio newscast that Hallat, doomed by his captors' rabid anti-Semitism, had been executed. Kauffmann, Carton and Fontaine were continually moved from apartment to apartment. At one point Kauffmann was wrapped in bandages like a mummy, sealed in a metal box and bolted under the chassis of a truck. When he banged on the side, he was told he would be shot. "Kill me," he snapped back. "It doesn't make any difference."

At another point Kauffmann and Fontaine were tied together and placed in a coffin. When they were let out for a moment, Fontaine peered under his blindfold and saw that they were near a cement factory. "They're going to kill us here, put our bodies in cement and dump us in the sea," said Fontaine. Later Kauffmann and Fontaine were put in a new cell and chained like animals to a spike in the floor.

When Kauffmann, after dozens of false hopes, was finally about to be released, a guard approached and told him it was all over. "What does that mean?" he asked. "Liberty," said the guard. Given the double meaning of that word, Kauffmann's greatest fears and hopes ricocheted through his emotions until the last second of captivity. Driven to an empty field, Kauffmann was joined there by Carton and Fontaine. Arriving a few minutes later at a hotel in Beirut, Kauffmann heard a French voice shout, "French intelligence services! Clear the way, for God's sake!" The ordeal was finally over.

—By William Dowell/Paris

Shi'ite Against Shi'ite

In the killing ground that is Beirut, where savage death has become commonplace, the brawls between this faction and that stopped making headline news long ago. But last week's clashes between the pro-Iranian Hizballah and its more moderate Shi'ite rival, the pro-Syrian Amal, were horrific even by Lebanese standards. In six days of warfare, Hizballah militiamen drove Amal fighters out of large portions of Beirut's southern suburbs. Using tanks, mortars, rockets and artillery, the combatants blasted buildings to rubble and sent civilians scurrying for refuge carrying their belongings on their backs. Snipers fired at anything that moved, including ambulances. At some hospitals, fighters forced doctors at gunpoint to operate on wounded colleagues, and battles broke out in the corridors.

By the time a truce was declared Thursday, at least 188 were dead and

hundreds more wounded, making it the worst eruption of violence since Syrian troops moved into West Beirut in early 1987. The hostilities left the surprisingly strong Hizballah fighters in control of 70% of the disputed territory, a 16-sq.-mi. district of crowded slums that is home to 250,000 Shi'ites. Fighting was suspended after telephone consultations between Syrian President Hafez Assad and Iranian President Ali Khamenei. But the next day, the fragile alliance between Damascus and Tehran was taxed as Hizballah fighters broke the truce, driving Syrian troops into the conflict.

The victory of Hizballah came after it had suffered a series of military setbacks in Shi'ite-dominated Southern Lebanon, first at the hands of Amal, then Israel, which killed as many as 40 of its guerrillas in a raid two weeks ago. Hizballah's new power will complicate efforts to free the 16 remaining foreign hostages in Lebanon, most of whom are thought to be held in the Beirut suburbs by kidnapers with ties to the militant Shi'ite faction.



Amal fighters defend their turf

World

MIDDLE EAST

Day by Day with the Intifadeh

Defying Israel's rule, Palestinians become self-reliant

For 40 days, raw concrete walls and army patrols sealed off Jalazun from the world. The Palestinian refugee camp near Ramallah in the West Bank was under curfew as punishment for its violent contributions to the *intifadeh* (uprising). Electricity was cut; cooking gas dwindled. As the men languished at home, the women organized survival. Around 3 a.m. most days, groups of women sneaked out of the camp and hid in nearby villages. During the day, they bought scarce meat and vegetables; at night they slipped back into Jalazun to feed their families.

Life is a little easier in Jalazun since the army lifted the curfew last month. Nonetheless, the *intifadeh*, now into its sixth month, has fundamentally altered daily life throughout the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Though the violence seems to be tapering off, Palestinians are settling into a pattern of sullen resistance. Spurred by orders from the uprising's leadership and restricted by countermeasures from the military authorities, the Palestinians are turning self-reliant to defy Israeli rule. And in just as many ways, Israel is struggling to reassert its control over daily Arab life in the territories.

Even something as simple as food shopping has become a duel between occupier and occupied. The uprising's leaders set opening hours for stores, usually three a day, and frequently call full strikes. But the army is determined to rule commerce and now often shuts shops in reprisal for days at a time. Schools have been closed for five months, leaving children to stay home or join the stone throwers in the streets. With few jobs in the West Bank and resistance to working in Israel itself, most men spend their days idly meeting on street corners. A Jalazun laborer who made \$400 a month before the *intifadeh* is now lucky to earn a tenth of that. "We no longer eat meat," says Ali Abdul Khadar Khalil, 56, father of nine. "People are getting desperate." But, he adds defiantly, "any people searching for independence must remember it can't be achieved without suffering."

Though the poor are most affected by the uprising, middle-class Palestinians also must adjust to the new reality. Edward Lama feels trapped between threats from the uprising's leaders to close his souvenir shop on Bethlehem's main street and orders from the state to stay open. Most days his door is open, but he spends the hours sipping coffee in his deserted shop, while his two dozen employees slump behind counters of glittering gold, olive-wood crucifixes and brass trinkets. Business is down more than 50% since the *intifadeh* began, and Lama's income does not cover his monthly overhead. But he

still pays his workers. "What can we do, let their families starve?" he asks.

Abdul Rahman, 45, a professor of Arabic literature at Hebron University, has not taught since December. He worries about his children, who have no school to attend, and spends hours searching for food. "You've got to know who's selling to buy," says Rahman, who has learned to visit butchers and grocers at their homes, where many of them now secretly keep their scarce supplies.

Many Palestinians are going back to the land. Nawal Rabi, 38, spends much of her day hacking out a garden behind her

are only trying to live." Nearby, freshly turned earth marks a new garden that will feed 42 families come harvest time. Hawash obliquely acknowledges what the Israelis fear: "By going back to the land, we can continue the uprising a long time."

The Israelis are devising new ways beyond curfews, roadblocks and shop closings to reassert their authority. Palestinians who wish to see relatives in detention camps can no longer arrange their visits through the Red Cross but must go through the tedious process of seeking permission from the military government. Anyone applying for a birth certificate or marriage license must prove that all government fines have been paid, while Palestinians traveling to Amman must first traverse miles of red tape.

Last week Israeli authorities flexed



Come and get them: Israeli soldiers issue new ID cards to Gazans

The occupiers struggle to reassert control over daily Arab life.

house in Jalazun. She is planting tomatoes, cucumbers and moloquia, an Arab green. With two brothers in jail and her father dead, Nawal struggles just to eat. In Sinjil, a West Bank village nearby, army roadblocks have cut off traffic for the past two months. Unable to drive to market, Hosneyah Khalil feeds her six children with the produce from her fields. She also has bought goats for milk. "We will show them we can live," she says.

In Beit Sahur, a town near Bethlehem, a group of local men started an agricultural cooperative in March. Walid Hawash, 29, runs the co-op's shop, selling seeds, tools and herbicides at cost to any residents who wish to start "victory" gardens. "We are doing this so the people can feed themselves," says Hawash. Last week Israeli soldiers threatened to close Hawash's store. "They say what we are doing is politics," says Hawash. "But we

another bureaucratic muscle. They ordered Gaza's 400,000 residents over the age of 16 to exchange their green identity folders for new booklets marked with different color codes. The Israelis say the codes indicate refugee-camp residence; the Palestinians say they identify political activists. Despite orders from the uprising's leaders not to comply, thousands of Gazans lined up in sweltering airless tents last week to receive their new documents. Said Major General Yitzhak Mordechai, Gaza's military commander: "They have to be clear they are under Israeli law. Israeli government."

But the Palestinians in the occupied territories seem prepared to pay a high price to prove that they are not totally under Israeli law. As the *intifadeh* drags on, the Arabs are increasingly intent on proving that they would rather change their way of life than their mind.

—By Johanna McGeary/Jalazun

World



"A traitor to the free world"

ESPIONAGE

No Regrets

Kim Philby: 1912-1988

When he disappeared from Beirut in January 1963, after telling his wife he would meet her at a diplomatic dinner party that evening, Kim Philby was a relatively obscure British journalist. During the quarter-century between his defection to the Soviet Union, for which he had been spying since the 1930s, and his death last week at 76 of undisclosed causes, Philby's legend grew to mythic proportions. Still active in the KGB, where he rose to the rank of general, Philby wrote a cryptic 1968 memoir, *My Silent War*, and gave only a handful of interviews. Yet his life and those of Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, two fellow British double agents whom he helped escape in 1951, inspired countless plays, films, novels and biographies. In spy fiction if not reality, Philby's perfidy seems to have been pivotal in a mood swing from patriotic derring-do to dour pessimism.

What remains beyond question is that Philby nullified much British and American espionage during and after World War II, spilling all to his Soviet masters, first as head of the Soviet desk of British counterintelligence and then, from 1949 to 1951, as Washington liaison with the CIA. He remorselessly sent to their deaths hundreds of agents, including ethnic Albanians who in the early 1950s were smuggled into Albania, with covert U.S. and British backing, to foment revolution.

Says former CIA Director Richard Helms: "Philby did a lot of damage. He was not only a traitor to his country but a traitor to the free world."

His tipping off Burgess and Maclean, an act that was detected, cost Philby a shot at the top job in the British Secret Intelligence Service, known as MI6, and could have cost him a good deal more. Yet despite two secret trials and a 1955 accusation on the floor of Parliament—an incident that ironically led Foreign Secretary Harold Macmillan to proclaim him cleared of disloyalty—Philby was allowed to go on working for MI6. Until he defected, he free-lanced for the service, which also helped him find employment as a journalist. In an interview last January with British Journalist Phillip Knightley, Philby claimed that his departure was engineered by Britain "because the last thing the British government wanted at that time was me in London, a security scandal and a sensational trial." He even retained the honor he had been awarded in 1946—Order of the British Empire—for two years after fleeing to Moscow, and his collaborator Anthony Blunt remained the Queen's adviser on art for more than a decade after admitting to treason.

Philby, born Harold Adrian Russell, was the only son of St. John Philby, a British civil servant who sided with the colonies rather than the empire and became an adviser to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. Harold was born in India, and in childhood acquired the lasting nickname of Kim, the courageous boy spy in Rudyard Kipling's tale. He attended his father's schools, Westminster and Cambridge. Philby met Burgess, Maclean and Blunt at Cambridge but insisted that they were not recruited there. In Vienna, where he lived after graduation, he joined a Communist cell and was assigned lifetime duties: to return to Britain and penetrate its intelligence service.

Given his breeding and education, and the clubby atmosphere of British intelligence at the time, Philby's youthful political excesses were overlooked, and by 1940, at 28, he was established as an agent. Colleagues disregarded his drinking and womanizing (he married four times and had several mistresses, including Maclean's wife Melinda), and often spoke of his intelligence and charm. But as Philby explained when he first emerged from silence in 1967, he felt no love for his native land. "To betray you must first belong," he said. "I never belonged."

Rarely seen in public in Moscow, Philby enjoyed all the privileges of a favored bureaucrat, including an apartment in the capital and a dacha, and never once regretted his decision. "I want to be buried in the Soviet Union, in this country which I have considered to be my own since the 1930s," he said. Last week he got his wish, after a funeral with full military honors.

—By William A. Henry III

Reported by Ann Blackman/Moscow and Frank Melville/London

NICARAGUA

Rebel Rousers

A revolt in the ranks

For six years, through good times and bad, the *contras* have been led by only one military commander: Enrique Bermúdez. 55, a former colonel in deposed Dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard. But peace, or at least the promise of it implicit in the 60-day cease-fire signed by the *contras* and Sandinistas in March, has triggered a power struggle that threatens not only Bermúdez's leadership but also rebel unity. Unless quickly settled, the infighting could prevent further peace talks and leave the Sandinistas in an even stronger military position when the cease-fire expires at the end of this month.

The first sign of trouble came immediately after the cease-fire was signed, when Bermúdez removed Walter Calderon Lopez and Diogenes Hernandez Membreno, two *contra* field commanders who had attended the talks. Bermúdez apparently felt that the officers had sold out the rebels by approving the accord. News of the disciplinary action spread quickly, leading combat unit leaders to openly criticize Bermúdez.

A group of rebels presented a nine-point petition calling for his resignation to the five-member directorate of the *contras*. Bermúdez's ties with Somoza's dreaded National Guard have long been a source of friction within the *contras*, and some observers speculated that Adolfo Calero, a member of the directorate, may have encouraged the guerrilla revolt.

Last week Hernandez and some 1,000 fellow dissidents, who had barricaded themselves at a base in Yamales, Honduras, clashed briefly with pro-Bermúdez forces. At least two dissidents were wounded. Hernandez later agreed to negotiate with Honduran and *contra* officials, but by week's end the dispute had not been resolved. Nor was it clear whether the *contras* could negotiate a more lasting truce with the Sandinistas before the present cease-fire runs out.



Dissident *contras* in Honduras

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World Notes



SOVIET UNION Before the knock on the door



INDIA Standoff at the Golden Temple



HISTORICAL NOTES Stormy weather

SOVIET UNION

An Opposition Party? Nyet!

At first the KGB seemed content to watch from the sidelines as some 100 dissidents gathered last week. But as the group was winding up its second day of political meetings at a dacha outside Moscow, the authorities moved in and detained 23 people, keeping almost half of them overnight. Reason: the dissidents had proclaimed the birth of an independent political party, the Democratic Union, to challenge the Communists.

Emboldened by Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's calls for reform, the new party had demanded free elections and independent trade unions. The crackdown underlined that there are limits to the amount of *glasnost* that the system will tolerate. Said TASS: "The group is nothing more than a bunch of scoundrel mongers."

POLAND

Heads High, Hands Empty

Marching behind a 10-ft. wooden crucifix, 500 workers last week ended their nine-day occupation of Gdansk's Lenin Shipyard—and with it Poland's most serious outbreak of labor unrest in seven years.

The strikers failed to win any of their demands, which included a 40% pay increase and recognition of the now banned Solidarity trade union. "We are not leaving the shipyard in triumph," declared the strike committee. "But we are leaving with our heads high."

Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa, who had feared that the workers' revolt was ill timed and had joined it only reluctantly, admitted that the finale amounted to a "step back." The government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski announced plans to speed up Poland's economic restructuring program. But in the sullen aftermath of the country's crushed labor rebellion, few expected the measures to make much difference.

INDIA

The Blood Of Punjab

The crackle of gunfire around the Golden Temple sounded chillingly familiar. More than 600 people died in 1984 when Indian forces stormed the holy shrine and wiped out extremists demanding independence for Sikhs in Punjab. Last week paramilitary troops besieged an estimated 70 Sikh terrorists who were again turning the temple into a fortress. After a Sikh gunman shot at police, Indian security forces returned fire and surrounded the complex. Weeklong gun

battles left more than 30 dead.

Though the possibility of storming the temple was not ruled out, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi seemed hesitant. His mother and predecessor, Indira Gandhi, had ordered the move in 1984, and it resulted in her assassination by Sikhs. Yet the new standoff probably ended the Prime Minister's policy of appeasement. Since Gandhi freed 45 imprisoned Sikh militants two months ago, some 550 people have been killed in terrorist-related violence.

JAPAN

Okuno the Outspoken

Japanese officials are almost universally circumspect. Then there is Seisuke Okuno, director-general of Japan's National Land Agency. Last month Okuno provoked protests throughout Asia by declaring that his country "was by no means the aggressor nation" in World War II. On a recent visit to China, which suffered at Japan's hands from 1931 to 1945, Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno apologized for that remark. But last week Okuno was at it again, telling the Diet that Japan "had no intention of invading China."

In South Korea, which was part of a Japanese colony from 1910 to 1945, the daily *Kyungyang Shinmun* expressed outrage at Okuno's

"chauvinistic psychology." China's *People's Daily* called for "effective measures" to counter Okuno's message. After initially hesitating, Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita on Friday demanded and received Okuno's resignation.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Sir Francis Who?

Four hundred years have passed since England defeated the Spanish Armada, thereby paving the way for its rise as a world power. This year Britons are saluting the victory with pageants, bonfires and banquets. Trouble is the occasion has also spawned scholarly works and an exhibit at the National Maritime Museum that debunk myths about the English victory. Among them: that the genius of Sir Francis Drake was almost solely responsible for Spain's defeat. These accounts argue that stormy weather contributed powerfully to the armada's defeat.

This has hardly amused British patriots. Lectured the *Times* of London: "National anniversary festivities should be concerned with projecting myths, not recording facts." In Sir Francis' hometown of Plymouth, City Councilor Reg Scott fumed, "It's outrageous of them to play down Drake's role. I was raised to think of this as a great victory."

Economy & Business

Blowing Off Some Steam

With the economy threatening to overheat, Greenspan fights to avert an inflationary explosion

What is going on here? By all accounts, the 5½-year-old economic expansion should be fizzling out. Already ancient by historical standards, the upswing appeared to have suffered a devastating blow when the stock market crashed last October. But, defying expectations, the economy is still running and even blowing off enough steam to inspire fears that it may actually be overheating. Forget about a recession, many economists counsel, and start worrying about inflation. Once a faint and far-off danger, rising prices may now pose the gravest threat to economic stability.

Responding to that threat is the job, as always, of Chairman Alan Greenspan and the other governors of the Federal Reserve. As the person in control of the U.S. money supply, Greenspan has the primary responsibility for preventing a price explosion. Last week he seemed to be moving decisively to cool things down by letting interest rates rise. The so-called federal funds rate, the interest charged on overnight loans among banks and the best day-to-day indicator of Federal Reserve policy, inched up from just under 7% to about 7.25%. In response, major banks hiked the prime lending rate they charge commercial customers from 8.5% to 9%.

That made investors recall the last time the banks raised their prime: Oct. 7, only twelve days before the crash. This time the reaction on Wall Street to rising interest rates was not nearly so violent. On the day the prime went up, the Dow Jones industrial average dropped 37.8 points, to 1965.85, but then it recovered a bit to finish the week at 1990.55.

The crucial question is how high the Fed will let interest rates go in its effort

to slow the economy and ward off inflation. The answer will have immense political as well as economic ramifications. In this presidential election year, the Republicans will jawbone the Fed, which now consists solely of Reagan appointees, to keep a lid on interest rates, while the Democrats will watch intently for any signs of partisan policymaking.

The clearest indication that the economy might be expanding too quickly came two weeks ago, when the Labor Department reported that the unemployment rate fell from 5.6% in March to 5.4% in April, its lowest level in 14 years. While the drop was good news to anyone looking for work, many economists were alarmed because they believe that unemployment can fall only so far before inflation starts to accelerate. While

no one knows precisely where this "trigger point" is, many economists think it is now no lower than 5.5%. During the Carter Administration, inflation accelerated sharply when unemployment dipped below 6%.

Current statistics provide disturbing evidence that the inflation trigger has been pulled again. In March consumer prices shot up at an annual rate of 6.4%, in contrast to a 4.4% rate for last year. Over the past two months, producer prices rose at about a 6% pace, nearly triple their 2.2% increase in 1987.

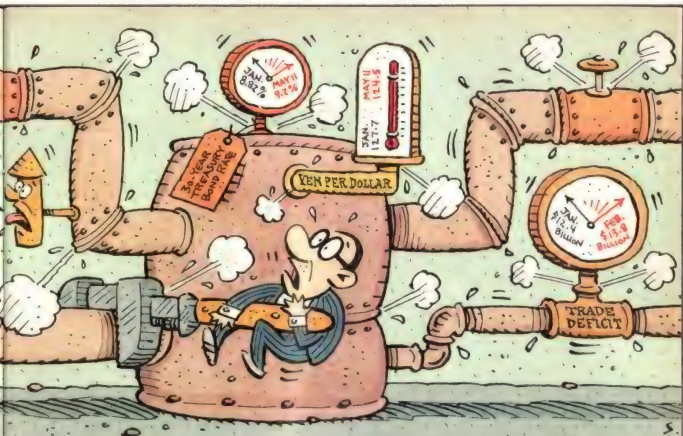
The theoretical relationship between falling unemployment and rising inflation has come to be known as the Phillips curve, after English Economist Alden Phillips. In 1958 he marshaled almost a century's worth of data from the British economy to show that falling unemployment drives up wages. Conversely, he asserted, rising joblessness forces wages down. The movement of wages heavily in-



fluences the level of inflation. But many experts, including Arthur Rolnick, chief economist of the Federal Reserve Bank in Minneapolis, question whether the Phillips curve works that neatly in the real economy. In the 1950s, the skeptics point out, the economy experienced both low inflation and low unemployment, while in the 1970s, prices kept on jumping even as joblessness rose.

So far in 1988, the falling unemployment rate has not led to dramatic increases in wages. For the first three months of the year, workers' average hourly compensation rose by 3.5%, up only slightly from a 3.2% gain during the fourth quarter of last year. Barry Bosworth, an economist at Washington's Brookings Institution, suggests one reason for the modest wage hikes: "Workers have been mainly concerned about job security." Employees know that companies move production overseas when their labor costs become too high. As a result, during recent negotiations workers have moderated their demands for wage increases in exchange for greater security.

Labor's acquiescent posture could easily change. More and more employees are noticing that their companies' top executives have been taking home hefty salary increases and juicy bonuses. But the average American worker has suffered a 6.5% decline in wages, after adjustment for inflation, during the past decade. At some point, says Bosworth, "workers will begin to focus on that loss."



That could lead to demands for substantial pay hikes.

While wage gains have remained moderate, other signs point to strong economic activity that could accelerate inflation. U.S. factories were operating at an average of 82.5% of their total capacity in March, up from 80.3% a year earlier. Some industries, including chemicals and paper, are running at more than 90% of capacity. When production is so strained, shortages develop and prices are likely to surge. Another indication that the economy may be running ahead of itself is the level of corporate profits—up 24% in the first quarter of the year from the same period in 1987. Business investment expanded at an annual rate of 21% during the first three months of 1988.

While few economists consider the evidence of overheating to be conclusive, many are concerned. Says Lyle Gramley, a former Federal Reserve Board member who is now chief economist of the Mortgage Bankers Association of America: "We don't have an explosion of inflation, but it is clear that the inflationary process is under way." And once inflation gets going, it has a momentum all its own. Last week, for example, Continental Can announced a 14% increase in the price of its aluminum cans. That jump alone may set off a round of increases in the cost of beer, soup and soft drinks, since these products are sold in aluminum containers.

Import prices have been rising especially rapidly because of the weakness of

the dollar. When the greenback began falling three years ago, many foreign manufacturers were reluctant to raise their prices on goods sold in the U.S. for fear of losing market share. But in the past few months, their profit margins have been shaved so thin that many of them have hiked their prices. Sony raised the price of its consumer-electronics products about 6% earlier this year. Adding to the inflationary pressure is Americans' powerful thirst for foreign goods. During February the U.S. bought \$37.4 billion worth of imported goods, up \$2.6 billion from January. As a result, the trade deficit for February increased by 11%, to \$13.8 billion, a surprising rise that sent the financial markets into a temporary tailspin.

Still, some economists doubt that growth is too rapid and deny that inflation is about to take off. The gross national product, they point out, expanded at a modest 2.3% annual rate during the first quarter. Concludes Richard Rahn, chief economist of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce: "Fears of inflation are greatly overblown." But that GNP figure, the counterargument goes, may be misleadingly low. It was depressed partly because companies trimmed production to draw down inventories. Besides, consumer spending for the quarter was up 3.8%.

The continuing rise in consumer outlays helped persuade the Federal Reserve Board that the economy was sufficiently

strong to absorb an increase in interest rates. It was not an easy decision, though, for Chairman Greenspan. A card-carrying Republican who served as chairman of President Ford's Council of Economic Advisers and worked as an economic adviser to President Reagan, Greenspan is naturally reluctant to do anything that might hurt the chances of Vice President George Bush. But since he took office last August, the Fed chairman has earned high marks for independence and integrity.

A faithful follower of even the most obscure financial indicators ("He knows the guys in the basement of the Bureau of Labor Statistics," says an admirer), Greenspan assumes a centrist position among his fellow Fed governors. Members Manuel Johnson, Edward Kelley and Martha Seger tend to favor supplying sufficient money to permit the economy to grow. Others, including H. Robert Heller and Wayne Angell, are usually more worried about fighting inflation. But it is the Fed's Open Market Committee, its chief policymaking arm, that manages the money supply. Besides Greenspan and the other governors, the Open Market Committee includes presidents of the Federal Reserve Banks, who tend to be inflation watchers.

Fed officials all realize that prices will be easier to control now than six months hence. At the moment, inflation might be contained with moderate interest-rate hikes. Later on, if prices begin to climb swiftly, the Fed might be forced to

Economy & Business

impose much larger increases in rates. Says John Williamson, senior fellow at the Institute for International Economics: "The lesson all central bankers have learned is that if you don't do what is necessary in the short run, you lose financial confidence, which is very difficult to restore."

As Greenspan strives to curb prices, he will have to watch for trouble in currency markets. A further steep decline in the value of the dollar could fan inflation, since it would cause new increases in the cost of imports. Greenspan apparently hopes to avoid that by

allowing a modest rise in U.S. interest rates, which will make dollar-denominated securities more attractive to foreign investors.

The danger is that other major nations, particularly West Germany and Japan, will raise their interest rates along with the U.S. The Japanese economy has been growing at a 4% rate over the past six months, and could face inflationary pressures. The West Germans, traditionally fearful of even a whiff of inflation, might boost interest rates to guard against price rises. If many countries tighten up at the same

time, the dollar will be no less vulnerable than it is now.

Defending the dollar and restraining inflation will take resolve and courage on the part of the Fed, especially in an election year. But Greenspan can probably muster the necessary determination if he thinks back to the early 1980s, when inflation got completely out of control and it took 20% interest rates to halt the price spiral. No one—Republican or Democrat—wants to experience a repeat of that episode.

—By Barbara Rudolph

Reported by Richard Hornik/Washington and Thomas McCarroll/New York

In Demand: the Class of '88

The nearly 1 million U.S. college seniors who will don cap and gown in the next few weeks could not have picked a more propitious time to be venturing out of ivy-covered campuses and into the workaday world. With the U.S. unemployment rate at its lowest level in 14 years, companies large and small are hungering for fresh talent from the college ranks. According to the Lindquist-Endicott survey of placement prospects, corporate America plans to hire 10% more seniors than it took on a year ago. A piece of sheepskin is fetching a better price: accounting majors, for example, will earn average starting salaries of \$23,700, about 9% better than graduates in that field earned in 1987.

Not long ago, the class of '88 was braced for a far gloomier situation. When the Dow Jones industrial average plummeted 508 points on Oct. 19, it raised the specter of an economic recession and widespread joblessness. Fearful seniors—joined by a smattering of overwrought underclassmen—rushed to college placement offices in search of advice, sometimes creating such a backlog that students had to wait a month or more for an appointment with a counselor. Corporations grew just as edgy: some recruiters put campus visits on hold until they could sort out the aftereffects of the market meltdown.

The way things turned out, the Crash of '87 did little to scuttle the best-laid plans of the class of '88. As expected, fewer Wall Street firms turned up on campuses for job interviews, and those that did hired fewer people. But many college placement officers actively solicited the personnel directors of old-line manufacturing companies, which had generated relatively little interest from students in the days when red-suspended Wall Streeters reigned as the big men on campus. General Motors is hiring 1,064 college graduates this year, twice the number it recruited in 1987. The University of Texas at Austin received visits from national recruiters for IBM and General Dynamics, instead of the regional representatives who used to handle the chore.

Largely because of the fear that Black Monday engendered, most students began their searches earlier in the academic year and pursued jobs more aggressively. Applicants

from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill mailed out résumés to as many as 50 employers each, instead of the 20 or so that most members of last year's class targeted. An all-day career seminar at the University of Virginia (total enrollment: 11,096) drew a standing-room-only crowd of more than 550 students, even though it was held on a Saturday. Says Larry Simpson, U.Va.'s placement director: "I've been here 20 years, and I have never seen students as career conscious as they are today."

The market crash forced many business majors to reassess their goals and tactics. Careers in sales, marketing and product development with large U.S. corporations suddenly seemed more satisfying than the stress and insecurity now promised by a career in investment banking. Typical of this year's class is John Christ, 21, an economics major at Harvard. Having decided against a career on Wall Street, Christ

is planning to be a management consultant. He wants, he says, "to get broader exposure to what is going on in the business world, meet a lot more people, and work with a team in an environment that is supposedly not as cutthroat as banking." Susan O'Brien, 22, a Barnard senior, had been planning a career on Wall Street, but now may look elsewhere. "I think about my friends who work down there. Their lives and careers are on edge," she says.

Some members of the class of '88 have shifted their sights from Wall Street to a wide variety of nonbusiness

fields, from law to social work. Most noticeable is the rise in the number of students seeking teaching careers. Many of the nation's graduate education schools report they are receiving at least 40% more applications this year than last. At Brown University, 250 students showed up for a one-man show on the life of a teacher, and career forums on counseling drew twice as many future graduates as last year.

The students who are turning away from business may feel that the salad days of corporate deal making are gone, but college advisers also detect a heightened sense of altruism among today's seniors. Says Victoria Ball, director of Brown's career-planning service: "Maybe it's the negative image of yuppies, but students are realizing that money isn't everything in life." Still, most of them will be making more of it than their predecessors.

—By Gordon Bock

Reported by Joelle Attinger/Boston and Wayne Svoboda/New York



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Uncommonly Well Equipped. The Mazda 626 DX family sedan includes a comprehensive list of standard features, each designed to add to your comfort and control. Together with the 626's outstanding room and quiet, they make it an even more impressive value.



STANDARD EQUIPMENT

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- Electric rear window defroster
- Tilt steering wheel
- Dual remote side mirrors
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626 Luxury Touring Sedan. The 5-door Mazda 626 Luxury Touring Sedan combines the performance and features you expect in a world-class road car, with an extra measure of versatility. The rear hatch opens to reveal over 21 cu. ft. of cargo room. You also get a 125-watt AM/FM ETR stereo, auto-reverse cassette deck, power windows, power door locks, and cruise control.

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50,000 MILE
"BUMPER
TO
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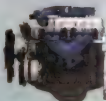
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Short on Cash, Long on Coping

Despite sanctions, Panamanians—including Noriega—get by

After hiding for more than two months behind shuttered windows and CLOSED signs, Panama's bankers were ready for a stampede of cash-starved customers when the institutions reopened last week. With good reason: it was the first time since March 3, when the government controlled by General Manuel Antonio Noriega decreed a bank holiday, that depositors at most of the country's 120 banking institutions were allowed to make limited withdrawals. Yet the queues that curled around street corners last Monday were calm and orderly. Grunted one depositor, Roy Stone, as he waited to enter a Chase Manhattan branch in Panama City: "It's a beginning."

The bank reopening is the latest sign that the Reagan Administration's effort to oust Noriega by applying economic pressure is failing to work as planned. The U.S. sanctions imposed last March included a freeze on \$50 million in Panamanian bank accounts in the U.S. and suspension of trade preferences on \$96 million in annual commerce between the two countries. The moves were expected to paralyze Panama's economy and spark internal pressure for Noriega's departure. But Panamanians are learning to cope with the cash shortage, and the U.S. sanctions may be causing only longer-term damage to Panama's economy.

Moreover, the general is still hanging tough. Reagan Administration officials disclosed last week that a State Department representative has been bargaining with Noriega, offering him incentives to leave the country. Under one Administration proposal, the U.S. would drop federal drug-trafficking charges against Noriega if he agreed to depart. But the strongman publicly rebuffed that idea last week, declaring, "Panama's sovereignty is not negotiable."

Since Panama uses U.S. dollars as its currency, the sanctions have managed to reduce drastically the supply of circulating money. But most of the country's 2.3 million people have evidently found ways to cover the necessities and then some. Discotheques are still crowded on Friday nights, and home-video rentals are booming. Some consumers are even finding bargains as businesses compete for scarce dollars by offering bonuses. One fast-food chain offers a double-size barrel of fried chicken for the price of a single, served up in what it calls the "crisis pack."

Many citizens are carrying a new kind of make-believe money. Unable to meet a \$62 million monthly payroll,

the government began issuing salary checks in \$20, \$50 and \$100 denominations, then persuaded merchants to treat them as cash. Businesses use the scrip to pay taxes and utility bills.

The U.S. Government and American corporations have unwillingly helped to soften the pinch. The Panama Canal Commission, which is jointly administered by Panama and the U.S., is bringing cash into the country by airplane to meet its \$3.3 million biweekly payroll. Moreover, despite the freezing of U.S. toll payments, the canal racked up a record

Many domestic business leaders believe confidence can eventually be restored, but only after the political upheaval has ended. Steve Maduro, president of the 110-year-old Felix B. Maduro department store chain, remains optimistic, although he concedes that his March and April sales were 70% lower than during the same period last year. The firm has closed one store and put its 240 employees on half days with half pay. Less generous employers have added some 25,000 Panamanians to the rolls of the unemployed, boosting joblessness to an estimated 20% in recent months.

Because of the layoffs and currency shortage, the hardest-hit Panamanians are probably the members of the middle class. To help workers who are unable to



The U.S. refused to pay tolls, yet the canal racked up record revenues of \$30 million in March. So-called dignity bags of rice, beans and other staples are being sold at a discount.

\$30.3 million in revenues during March.

Panama's short-term ability to get by may be only forestalling severe economic setbacks. Orville Goodin, Panama's Finance Minister, predicted last week that the country's output of goods and services will shrink 20% in 1988 from last year's level. Tourism, which in 1987 brought in \$187 million, is practically moribund.

Harmed most of all may be Panama's banking industry, which has served as a haven for thousands of depositors who demand confidentiality and security. After anti-Noriega demonstrations broke out last summer, nervous investors quickly yanked at least \$500 million. When banks reopened last week, the government allowed depositors to make a monthly withdrawal of only 25% of checking-account balances, to a maximum of \$10,000, and just 5% of savings accounts. Bankers fear that the restrictions, designed to control the cash drain, will ruin Panama's reputation as a safe haven. Says one, "We have been mortally wounded."

cash their paychecks, the government is selling so-called dignity bags of rice, beans and other staples at a discount from regular prices. The crisis has brought relatively little new hardship for the poor, so far. Hereberto Lombardo, 33, says he makes about \$20 a day selling fruit-flavored ices from a pushcart. "I don't care what the Americans do," he says, grinning up at the cloudless sky. "As long as it stays hot, I'll have customers."

The heat is still very much on—from the sun and the U.S. The Noriega regime believes the Administration intends to prolong the crisis so that the U.S. can step in later with a generous aid package in return for big concessions. Among them: long-term leases for U.S. military bases and cooperation from Panamanian banks in prosecuting American tax cheats. But as the standoff continues, Noriega may find new benefactors. Libyan Leader Muammar Gaddafi, for instance, is said to be ready to loan Panama \$20 million. However, Swiss bankers have reportedly turned down Noriega representatives who tried to set up a numbered account as a conduit for the money. —By John Moody.

Reported by Michele Labrut/Panama City



The general hangs tough

Economy & Business

From Russia, With Profits

*Western companies can
make money out of glasnost*

Though Ronald Reagan has long since muted his language about the "evil empire," the White House has never stopped sounding alarms about the Soviets' drive to buy—or steal—Western defense technology. Soviet espionage, U.S. officials warn, is eroding the West's lead in high-tech weapons and saving the Kremlin millions of dollars in military research. To keep computers and other products with possible military uses from finding their way into the East bloc, the

The device is used to focus and accelerate atomic particles.

► Ocean Spray, of Plymouth, Mass., is experimenting with a Soviet technique for extracting more juice and color from cranberries. The process involves briefly electrifying the berries with an oscillating current that ruptures cell membranes.

► Multi-Arc Scientific Coatings, of St. Paul, has built a thriving international business (1987 sales: \$10 million) by using a Soviet technique for coating metal implements with gold-colored titanium nitride. The superhard coating protects drill bits and other parts from wear and corrosion, increasing their life-span from three-fold to 30-fold.

► Czechoslovak scientists have made several advances in plastics. Bausch & Lomb used materials and techniques patented by the Czechs to produce the first soft-con-

A Change in The Program

Curbing a disputed stock play

Computer-launched program trading, blamed by many for the severity of the Oct. 19 market meltdown, has become even more controversial in the seven months since the crash. The most widely practiced form of program trading, index arbitrage, has been directly linked to at least two post-crash market plunges, despite new rules designed to limit its effects. All the while, critics have blamed a handful of cash-rich investment firms for turning the stock market into a gambling casino and scaring away small investors.

Last week Wall Street seemed to get the message. In rapid-fire announcements made on the eve of congressional hearings on program trading, six major securities firms—Salomon Brothers, Morgan Stanley, PaineWebber, Bear Stearns, Kidder Peabody and Dean Witter—announced that they would halt index arbitrage for their own accounts, at least for the time being. With the exception of Bear Stearns, which will stop all index arbitrage, the firms will continue to execute such trades for customers who request them.

In its pure form, index arbitrage involves the simultaneous purchase of stock index futures contracts and the sale of the stocks that make up the index, or vice versa, to make a profit on the temporary "spread" or price difference between the two. Supporters of this classic kind of arbitrage say it provides a useful and necessary link to equalize prices between the stock markets in New York City and the futures exchanges in Chicago. But recently some Wall Street firms have taken to delaying one or the other leg of the two-part transaction, depending on which way the market is moving. The effect of such "legging," as the practice is called, is to turn a risk-free transaction into a highly speculative one. Critics charge that it has made stock prices more volatile than ever.

Why did the investment houses choose this moment to scale back index arbitrage? Wall Street insiders cite a variety of reasons, but the clincher seems to have been the threat of one of their biggest clients, Maurice Greenberg, head of the insurance giant American International Group, to stop doing business with companies that continue to profit from program trading. If the firms hoped their announcement would head off further criticism, they were quickly disappointed. At Senate committee hearings the next day, former Treasury Secretary Donald Regan took time off from promoting his new book to urge suspension of all index futures trades. "The public has every reason to believe the present game is rigged," said Regan. "It is. Having spent 35 years at Merrill Lynch, including nine as its chairman, he should know."



Using a Soviet technique, a Minnesota firm coats everything from helicopter parts to scissors with corrosion-beating titanium nitride. Left, the radio-frequency quadrupole, used in SDI research

U.S. and its Western allies have imposed elaborate trade restrictions.

But some American scientists and business executives point out that the drive to acquire technology, military and otherwise, is very much a two-way street. "We are conditioning ourselves to assume that just because the Soviets want to buy or steal our technology, they have nothing of value for us to buy or steal," says John Kiser, who heads a Washington firm that specializes in finding new plastics technology in the East bloc and helping U.S. companies negotiate licensing agreements. "Most people don't realize there's high tech over there to be brought in."

Already a surprisingly long list of U.S. businesses and scientific projects use technology from Communist countries. Some examples:

► A Soviet-designed "radio-frequency quadrupole" device is a crucial element in the neutral-particle-beam weapon on which research is now being conducted at Los Alamos National Laboratory under the Strategic Defense Initiative program.

tact lenses. Now Czech researchers say they have invented a plastic that can withstand temperatures of up to 4,000 F. American aerospace firms are interested in using it in rocket nozzles.

If these breakthroughs seem to defy the stereotype of the East bloc as a technological wasteland, it may be because Communist economies are extraordinarily uneven. "There are peaks of genuine achievement and troughs of appalling backwardness," observes Julian Cooper, a lecturer in Soviet studies at England's University of Birmingham. "The Soviets are often quite good at basic research. The problem is getting that technology into production."

Both East and West might make significant advances by expanding their modest contacts in high-tech fields. Says Multi-Arc Chairman Peter Flood: "If we were prepared to let them benefit from our production-engineering expertise in exchange for the scientific contribution they can make, the whole world would be better off."

—By Jay Peterzell/Washington

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Business Notes



TAKEOVERS J.R. would flight it



AIRLINES The wing flaps were not in position for takeoff



DISCOVERIES Gene tracking at Chiron

AIRLINES

Fatal Error In the Cockpit

Just 14 seconds after Northwest Airlines Flight 255 took off from Detroit's Metro Airport last Aug. 16, it crashed into a highway embankment, killing 156 people. Last week the National Transportation Safety Board said "overwhelming evidence" points to pilot error as the cause of the accident. The agency said Captain John Maus and First Officer David Dodds skipped critical parts of their preflight routine and neglected to set the wing flaps to provide enough lift for takeoff. But the Air Line Pilots Association argued that the board gave insufficient weight to the fact that the alarm system on the McDonnell Douglas MD-80 failed to warn the crew that the flaps were not in position. Said Allison Maus, the captain's widow: "It's easy to blame it on the dead guys."

Already facing lawsuits from the crash, Northwest has other worries as well. The carrier is one of 15 airlines facing possible Federal Aviation Administration fines totaling nearly \$6.5 million for alleged breaches of safety and security rules. The roster includes United (\$1.26 million), Hawaiian (\$1.17 million), Continental (\$982,130), Eastern (\$893,500), Braniff (\$518,000), American (\$421,250) and Northwest (\$371,000). The bulk of United's penalty is for temporarily

removing so-called vapor-seal covers from the wings of its Boeing 767s, allegedly increasing the chances of fire. United says it was trying to solve a vibration problem on the 767s and "expects to respond fully and to the FAA's satisfaction on the matter."

DISCOVERIES

Biotech Sleuths Snare a Virus

It may not have the national recognition of a Genentech or Cetus, but Chiron Corp., a small genetic-engineering firm (1987 sales: \$20 million) in Emeryville, Calif., has had more than its share of biotech success. Two years ago, a preparation it developed with New Jersey-based Merck to ward off the liver-damaging effects of hepatitis B became the first genetically engineered vaccine to win Food and Drug Administration approval for use in humans.

Now Chiron appears to have done it again. Capping more than five years of intensive detective work, the company announced last week that it had isolated and cloned proteins from the last major hepatitis virus to elude detection: a blood-borne infectious agent that is known as hepatitis non-A, non-B. The virus strikes about 5% of the 4 million Americans who undergo blood transfusions each year, and it causes a range of symptoms

from fatigue to chronic liver disease.

Chiron's discovery, if verified, could be both a medical breakthrough and an economic boon, because it could lead to a simple laboratory test for the presence of the virus. The company thinks such a test, which would have a ready market at blood banks and hospitals, could generate sales of up to \$90 million a year in the U.S. alone. Chiron is looking for a vaccine but warns that the search could take several years.

TAKEOVERS

Brawling Over J.R.'s Creator

Would J.R. Ewing submit quietly to being taken over? No way, but the financially troubled TV studio that created him, Lorimar-Telepictures, may soon accept that fate. Lorimar, which produces *Dallas* and *Knots Landing*, has stumbled badly after expanding too fast into areas beyond its ken, including feature films (among its flops: *Made in Heaven* and *American Anthem*). Last week the company agreed to a friendly acquisition by Warner Communications, whose TV studio already produces such hits as *Night Court* and *Growing Pains*, for \$630 million in stock and the assumption of \$550 million of Lorimar's debt. But late in the week came word of a potential rival bid.

Marvin Davis, the Denver oilman who once owned 20th Century Fox, is considering making an offer of about \$690 million for Lorimar. A *Dallas*-style brawl may ensue.

CRIME

Justice at The Checkout

Eckerd Drug, a 1,700-store chain of pharmacies based in Clearwater, Fla., claims that it lost \$30 million to shoplifters last year. Now the company has decided to do something about it. Instead of routinely prosecuting fast-fingered shoppers, more than half of Eckerd's pharmacies allow culprits to buy their way out of trouble by paying the store \$200 (\$150 in Louisiana). That eliminates the nuisance and expense of formal proceedings for Eckerd, the accused and the courts.

The program, sanctioned by authorities in 26 states, works like this: when shoplifters are caught, the store manager may or may not have them arrested, depending on whether they seem like professional criminals or occasional lipstick lifters. In the latter case, the store lets them go after verifying their names and addresses. In about a week the shoplifters receive letters demanding payment. If they refuse, Eckerd takes the case to small-claims court. Most have been paying up.

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Religion



A higher profile: the splashy \$4 million Islamic Center rises above cornfields and a highway outside Toledo

Americans Facing Toward Mecca

The fast-growing Muslim community is invisible no longer

O gene Davis of Atlanta faithfully attended a black church through high school but became deeply troubled that "good" Christians could tolerate a socially and racially unjust world. "Christianity was not working for blacks," he concluded. Karima Omar Kamounieh (nee Virginia Marston) of Burbank, Calif., was raised by devout Episcopalians but felt plausibility was somehow lacking. "I had milked everything out of Christianity, and it still didn't make sense," she relates. Dawud Wong Chun, a Chinese American in Brooklyn, says simply that he thirsted for a "pious, virtuous, fruitful life."

For all three, the answer was Islam, a choice that until recently might have seemed highly peculiar. Despite 800 million adherents around the world, the faith of the Prophet Muhammad and the Qur'an, the Muslim scriptures, has long been all but invisible in the U.S. More than that, it has been an object of misunderstanding and contempt. "Traditionally, there has always been a rather bad image of Islam in the West," says Ninian Smart, religion professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara. "In recent years," he adds, "that has been accentuated by the revolution in Iran and terrorism." Insists Dawud Assad, president of the U.S. Council of Masajid (mosques): "People call us terrorists, while ours is a religion of peace."

A steady trickle of homegrown converts has been joining a flood of immigrants to create a sizable American Islamic community. The number of Muslims among those entering the U.S. has doubled in the past two decades, and they now constitute 14% of immigrants. Adding to the total is the indigenous movement formerly known as Black Muslims. Once seen as heretical by orthodox believers because of the unconventional and antiwhite doctrines propounded by Founder Elijah Muhammad, the group has shed those teachings and gained recognition by mainstream Islam. With these trends and their high birthrate, U.S. Muslims are expected to surpass Jews in number and, in less than 30 years, become the country's second largest religious community, after Christians.

The quietly expanding scope of

American Islam has become evident only as the result of new research. At a symposium at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Carol Stone, a doctoral student at Indiana University, estimated that there are 4,644,000 U.S. Muslims, with the largest concentration in California. The large majority of U.S. adherents are not affiliated with a mosque, but this is not for lack of opportunity. UMass Historian Yvonne Haddad, who organized the Amherst sessions, counts more than 600 Islamic centers across the U.S.

Islam in America is not without its problems. "Hold fast to the rope of Allah and be not divided," urges the Qur'an, but in the U.S. that injunction has gone largely unheeded. American Islam is gravely weakened by divisions among nationalities; Egyptians worship with Egyptians,

Lebanese with Lebanese. In some locations, separate congregations that use different languages share a building but have no joint activities. "There is no unified, strong Islamic movement in America," complains Muzammil Siddiqi, director of the Islamic Society of Orange County, Calif. Coordination among U.S. Muslims is lacking even on something as fundamental as the dates for beginning and ending Ramadan, the month of dawn-to-dusk fasting that concludes this week.

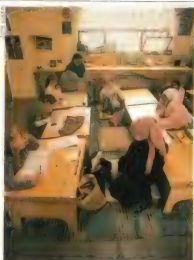
American Muslims have difficulty obeying the traditional practices and moral te-



Growing numbers: worshippers overflow mosque in Washington

"People call us terrorists, while ours is a religion of peace."

Religion



Breaking the Ramadan fast at Brooklyn's Fath Mosque; studying at a school run by a Muslim community in Abilquhi, N. Mex.

nets in a society that is both non-Islamic and highly permissive. Like Christian conservatives, observes Barbara Aswad, an expert on Middle Eastern culture at Wayne State University, devout Muslims "are shocked at what they consider moral problems here, like sexual freedom, drug use, crime and lack of respect for parents." Immigrant parents quarrel with their Americanized offspring about the use of alcohol, which is banned in Islam, and about dating, which the faith forbids. Observing dietary laws is an additional challenge: pork products are strictly off limits.

The most difficult practice to maintain is the prescribed five daily periods of prayers and prostrations conducted while facing Mecca. Laila Al-Marayati, a medical student from Long Beach, Calif., seeks out an empty room at her hospital, but she admits, "if I was praying and heard someone come in, I'd stop and pretend I was doing something else." Attending weekly prayer services, held on Friday afternoons, is a problem. "Many Muslims who aren't assertive about their faith aren't able to get off from work," says Akil Rahim of Baltimore's Muslim Charities Institute. "One of our major problems is sticking up for our rights."

That is slowly beginning to change as American Muslims feel the need to become more organized and visible. Worshipers at Ramadan services around the U.S. last week heard appeals for greater unity and community participation. "Mutual recognition is starting to dawn among us Muslims," pronounced Talib Abdur-Rashid, a Harlem imam, at Brooklyn's Fath Mosque, where some 500 faithful—blacks, whites, converts and a dozen different nationalities—gathered to pray and break their fast. A similar mix was gathered at the Islamic Center of Southern California in Los Angeles, where community leaders have worked hard to

reduce tensions between the dominant Sunnis and the more recently arrived Iranian Shi'ites among the 10,000 families the center reaches.

A telling sign of growing cohesion and self-confidence is the number of new mosques that have begun to sprout. An \$11 million house of worship is under construction on Manhattan's Upper East Side, and will open for prayers in six months, with plans for a \$29 million expansion. Near the campus of the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, a 2,000-capacity mosque costing \$4 million is due to open next year. The most impressive mosque to date is the splashy \$4-million Islamic Center located in the cornfields of Perrysburg, Ohio, outside Toledo. Accommodating 1,200 people for services, the center, opened in 1983, boasts a membership that includes 22 nationality groups. Plans call for \$40 million more to be spent on an Islamic school, recreation center and other facilities.

American Muslims are seeking a greater voice in affairs outside their immediate religious communities. Voter registration, for example, is a major goal at the Los Angeles center. Los Angeles was

the birthplace, six months ago, of the Muslim Political Action Committee, which aims to advance the rights of American Muslims as well as such overseas causes as self-determination for Palestinians in Israeli-occupied territories. Another goal: electing a Muslim to the U.S. Congress by 1992. "We'd like people to start thinking of the U.S. as a Judeo-Christian-Muslim society," declares Salam Al-Marayati, MPAC's Iraqi-born spokesman. Ironically, the role models for MPAC and politically inclined Muslims are American-Jewish lobbies. "The Jews are doing their homework, and we are not," says Tajuddin Bin Shuraib of the Islamic Studies Center in Los Angeles.

At the local level, Muslims are achieving greater acceptance and religious tolerance. In Dearborn, Mich., where 10% to 15% of the population is Arabic, public schools recognize Muslim holy days and do not serve pork in cafeterias. To accommodate modesty rules, girls learn to swim in all-female classes and are allowed to wear slacks instead of shorts for other gym instruction.

Some Muslim leaders see an invigorating sort of challenge in the highly secular and sometimes hostile American environment. "The freedom of expression in this country is allowing Muslims here to practice in the true sense," says Safi Qureshey, a devout Sunni and successful California businessman. Historian Haddad notes that many immigrants and "sojourners"—students who come for several years—are nominal Muslims who arrive knowing little about the faith. The freedoms of American society lead them to reflect on their beliefs, she says, and many return to their homelands as leaders. The U.S. has thus become not only a melting pot for Muslims from all nations, she notes, but also an important "incubator for Islamic ideas."

—By Richard N. Ostling,
Reported by Michael P. Harris/Amherst and
Jon D. Hull/Los Angeles



An \$11 million mosque under way in Manhattan
"Hold fast to the rope of Allah."

Press

Now She's Queen for a Daily

Jane Amsterdam and the New York Post make an odd couple

The new editor of the gritty New York Post wears white linen skirts, a string of pearls and pink nail polish, and she comes from Philadelphia's genteel Main Line. Last week, after announcing the appointment of Magazine Veteran Jane Amsterdam to the top slot at one of the last bastions of no-holds-barred, spit-in-the-eye tabloid journalism, the Post's owner, Real Estate Magnate Peter Kalikow, presented her with a T-shirt emblazoned with the paper's now legendary April 15, 1983, headline **HEADLESS BODY IN TOPLESS BAR**. As earthy Post newsroom veterans (uncomfortably adorned in ties and jackets) were introduced to their new boss, many wondered if Amsterdam, of late an editor at Alfred A. Knopf, one of the toniest book publishers in the country, was up to the job. Says Amsterdam's friend and former boss, Washington Post Assistant Managing Editor Bob Woodward: "There's not been a more interesting match since Jackie Kennedy married Aristotle Onassis."

To close observers of New York's escalating tabloid war, Kalikow's choice was either foolish or inspired. At 36, Amsterdam has impressive credentials, but they are largely in magazine journalism. After editing stints at *New Jersey Monthly*, *New Times*, *New York* and *American Lawyer*, she made her reputation as founding editor of *Manhattan Inc.*, which broke new ground in 1984 with literate profiles of corporate raiders, high-powered lawyers and their ilk—not the sort of thing one finds in the pages of the *Post*.

Indeed, Amsterdam's only newspaper experience is four years at the Washington *Post*, where she worked in the feature-oriented Style section and then in Woodward's investigative unit. Though her initial response to the *Post's* overtures was an "absolute no," Amsterdam now sees the job as the ultimate challenge. "Fear is a good reason to take a job," she insists. "My goal is to make this a great metropolitan newspaper."

Widely admired by the writers and editors who have worked with her, Amsterdam is known as a tough and careful master who savors the process of gathering news and labors over every nuance and comma. "She is one of the most energetic and committed editors I have ever seen," says Shelby Coffey III, who worked



Tony chief for a scrappy tab: Amsterdam in the Post's pressroom

Her initial response to the paper's overtures was an "absolute no."

with Amsterdam at the Washington *Post* and was recently named executive editor of the Los Angeles *Times*. Amsterdam's detractors complain that she can be impatient, has a thin skin and gets on better with male colleagues than with female. Amsterdam is married to her former boss at *New Times*, Jonathan Z. Larsen.

Those who are confident that Amsterdam has the skills to run the *Post* wonder how she will fare in a news organization where many consider journalistic ethics to be an oxymoron. Last year Amsterdam

abruptly resigned from *Manhattan Inc.*, claiming that Owner and Publisher D. Herbert Lipson was interfering too much in editorial matters. Before signing a three-year contract at a reported salary of

\$200,000 at the *Post*, however, Amsterdam says she received assurances that she will be given a free hand to edit a paper that is "accurate, responsible, well-reported and ethical." The liberal-leaning editor will, however, have no control over the *Post's* arch-conservative editorial pages.

Although Amsterdam and *Post* Publisher Peter O. Price insist that the essential character of the paper will not change, it is already in transition. Under Press Lord Rupert Murdoch, the *Post* lost millions trying to win blue-collar readers away from the rival *Daily News*, while attracting a scant 10% of New York City's newspaper advertising dollars. After rescuing the paper from imminent death when Murdoch was forced to sell it last February, Kalikow brought in Price, who switched it from afternoon to morning publication and launched an expensive

campaign to woo upscale commuters.

At the moment the *Post* remains awash in red ink, but Kalikow predicts it will break even within three years. He also expects circulation to rise from its current level of 555,000 to 700,000, still well behind the *Daily News's* 1.2 million. Amsterdam says the pressure on her is not to make the *Post* profitable but to make it better. Still, that may be difficult because of the attrition of recent years, including the loss of two of the paper's most talented headline writers.

Given the backgrounds of both Amsterdam and Price, a founder of the aggressively upscale *Avenue* magazine, many observers believe Amsterdam's appointment confirms suspicions that the *Post* will now be aiming its sights on the Chablis-and-Brie set. Amsterdam talks about improving business coverage, and there are reports that veteran magazine writers such as Dominique Dunne, Pete Hamill and Mimi Sheraton have been invited to write for the paper.

Wary *Post* veterans remember when the *Daily News* targeted the same readership with a magazine-style *Tonight* edition in the early 1980s—and almost went under. Still, after facing the paper's demise only a few months ago, the staff is inured to shifting fortunes. Typically, one wag has even come up with the perfect *Post* headline for the latest turnabout: **AMSTERDAMERUNG**. —By Lawrence Zuckerman. Reported by Roger Franklin and Naushad S. Mehta/New York

MOVING UP

Jane Amsterdam is only the seventh woman to take the helm of a newspaper with a circulation above 100,000. The others:

- **Janet Chasimir**
Miami Herald (circ. 485,393)
- **Sandra Rowe**
Norfolk Virginia-Pilot and Ledger-Star (222,280)
- **Barbara Henry**
Rochester Times-Union and Democrat and Chronicle (218,838)
- **Deborah Howell**
St. Paul Pioneer Press Dispatch (195,279)
- **Katherine Fanning**
Christian Science Monitor (177,771)
- **Beverly Kees**
Fresno Bee (143,948)

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Video



The way it was: the anchorman with his bosses, Joyce and Sauter, in 1984

Two More Pokes in the CBS Eye

New books make villains of Dan Rather and Van Gordon Sauter

Trench warfare in the executive suites. Longtime employees suddenly thrown into the street. An emotional battle for the very soul of an institution. The biggest headlines at CBS News over the past few years seem to have originated mostly behind the cameras. No company's inside gossip has been the subject of more outside scrutiny than that of CBS, and the result has been a small library of books on the network's inner workings. Few, however, have offered harsher indictments than two new releases that try to affix blame for the turmoil and shifting priorities at TV's most prestigious news division in the 1980s.

The insider glimpses are candid and juicy. CBS *Evening News* anchorman Dan Rather is portrayed as an erratic, insecure man, duplicitous in personal dealings. Favored correspondents reportedly are accorded a place on Rather's A list and get frequent exposure on the CBS *Evening News*. Those who cross him—Morton Dean, Ed Rubel—are forced into relative obscurity. But the chief Machiavelli in this troubled kingdom is Van Gordon Sauter, the raffishly flamboyant former president of CBS News, who is charged with virtually dismantling the great journalistic tradition fostered by Edward R. Murrow. *Dallas* was never so lively.

Prime Times, Bad Times (Doubleday, \$19.95) was written by a key insider from this period: Ed Joyce, who served as Sauter's top deputy, succeeded him as news division president in 1983, and was ousted two years later. Joyce was an unpopular figure, viewed by his staff as an aloof hatchet man who set in motion a painful round of layoffs in 1985. Unsurprisingly, he views himself more sym-

thetically, as a beleaguered defender of traditional news values. His chief enemy, it seems, was Rather. The anchorman was unfailingly polite and supportive in person, Joyce writes, but campaigned for his ouster behind his back. When the antagonism became clear to Joyce's bosses, there was little doubt about which man was expendable. "There are lots of presidents," CBS Broadcast Group President Gene Jankowski told Joyce. "There's only one Dan Rather."

Joyce's otherwise informative memoir is marred by its self-serving tone, and his credibility is damaged by the dubious reconstruction of quotes, many of which make him sound suspiciously articulate. (Talking about Rather to a colleague: "Jesus, he's become like that ornamental vine from Japan, the kudzu, that was introduced in Georgia a few years ago. Now it's spread its tendrils all over the whole damned South.") What is more, Joyce rarely steps back from his day-to-day chronology to offer a larger perspective about TV news or even much useful introspection.

Peter Boyer's version of the same period, *Who Killed CBS?* (Random House, \$18.95), is a more balanced and skillfully written account. Boyer, who spent ten months as media critic for the CBS *Morning News* in 1985, is now TV reporter for the New York Times. One subject on which he is better, oddly, is Ed Joyce. Boyer lucidly describes the missteps that caused Joyce to fall into disfavor with his staff. Soon after becoming news president,

for instance, Joyce tried unsuccessfully to move Sandy Socolow, the respected former executive producer of the CBS *Evening News*, from the London bureau to Tel Aviv. The attempt, which Socolow balked at, "left a bitter taste" with staffers, who saw it as "an effort to squeeze out of CBS News a respected veteran whose principal sin was a close friendship with Walter Cronkite." Joyce, typically, describes the incident in a short paragraph and gives no inkling of its repercussions.

But the role of chief villain in Boyer's book belongs to Sauter, who served two tours as news chief before being forced out of the company in 1986. It was Sauter, Boyer writes, who coaxed the *Evening News* away from bland Washington stories and toward an emphasis on heart-tugging TV "moments"; who ruthlessly divided the CBS News staff into "yesterday" people (those identified with the Murrow-Cronkite era) and "today" people (the younger, TV-fluent crowd); who pushed for hiring Phyllis George as co-anchor of the CBS *Morning News*. "Sauter was in charge," writes Boyer, "and it was clear that he wasn't there to validate the glories of CBS News past. He was there to vanquish the past, to repudiate an approach to television that was seen as hide-bound and irrelevant and the philosophies of broadcast journalism that fostered that approach. That was his mission, and that is what he did."

But Boyer oversimplifies. Many of the changes at CBS News would have occurred with or without Sauter; nor have all of them been bad. (They have certainly not been unique to CBS.) Boyer is on the shakiest ground in his final chapter, in which he tries to fit the events of the past year—when CBS News' fortunes have improved—into his anti-Sauter thesis. His assertion that Rather's newscast has degenerated into a "broad-reaching video tabloid" seems particularly unfounded.

In the end, both books leave an outsider bemused. To be sure, CBS News has gone through troubled times, and the questions raised here are serious ones for all of TV journalism. But much of this inside stuff is little more than the predictable sturm und drang of corporate politicking. Couldn't the conflict between yesterday people and today people, for example, be explained less ominously as the normal tendency of new management to favor its own people over the previous regime's? Aren't clashes like the one between Rather and Joyce common to any large organization employing strong-willed creative people? And if these people were not on TV, would anybody—anybody outside of CBS, that is—really care?

—By Richard Zoglin



Author Boyer

Law



Chambers claimed passions went awry



Porto said his victim asked to be choked



Bulloch blamed bondage in his wife's death

The Rough-Sex Defense

When killers blame erotic impulses, does rough justice result?

Before he was charged with second-degree murder in the 1986 death of Kathleen Holland, 17, Joseph Porto calmly confessed on videotape that he had strangled his girlfriend till "my hands got tired," then used his high school graduation tassel to finish the job. Porto, now 19, gave a similar account to a prosecution psychiatrist, explaining that he had exploded in jealous anger when Holland told him she wanted to date other boys.

But when Porto took the witness stand at his trial on Long Island last month, he made a stunning recantation. He had invented the murder story, he tearfully claimed, because he was ashamed to tell the truth: Holland had begged him to wrap a rope around her neck to produce a state of near suffocation, called sexual asphyxia, that is said to heighten erotic pleasure. In his excitement, he said, he pulled too hard. Nassau County Prosecutor Kenneth Littman decided the new story as the "oops defense." But the jury found Porto guilty on only the lesser charge of criminally negligent homicide, a crime punishable by no more than four years in prison.

Holland's family was outraged. Last week her brother made public a 6,000-signature petition demanding that Porto get the maximum penalty. "Rough sex" scoffs her father Denis, a retired policeman. "That phrase wasn't even part of my daughter's vocabulary." It had, however, become part of the public's vocabulary earlier this year during the "preppie murder" trial of Robert Chambers, who claimed to have killed Jennifer Levin accidentally during an unbridled sexual episode in Manhattan's Central Park. Last week Levin's father Steven held a press conference to protest such defense tactics. "It's become open season on women," he said. Porto Prosecutor Littman agrees:

"Rough sex is the defense du jour."

Some are calling it a new twist on the old trial strategy of blaming the victim. "The she-asked-for-it defense doesn't work anymore," says Harvard University Law Professor Alan Dershowitz. "So now we're hearing she demanded it." The first use of that argument may have been in the trial last year in St. Louis County, Mo., of Dennis Bulloch, who faced murder charges in the death of his wife, Julia Bulloch's body, bound to a chair with adhesive tape, had been found in the burned remains of the couple's garage, which Bulloch admitted torching. He claimed that his wife had choked to death accidentally during an episode of sexual bondage. Though he faced the death penalty for murder, he drew only a seven-year prison term on the lesser charge of manslaughter. Frustrated prosecutors have now moved to try him for arson.

Much of the controversy surrounding

the Porto trial hinged upon whether sexual asphyxia would have been part of a teenage girl's erotic habits. Porto Attorney Barry Slotnick, who defended Subway Gunman Bernhard Goetz, put an expert on the stand who testified that the practice was far more common than people realize, though deaths occur mostly among males engaged in solitary sex.

Ironically, the rough-sex defense may require an attractive defendant to succeed. It will work only if the accused is "sympathetic, not a hardened type of character," says New York Attorney Thomas Puccio. It may also require a certain kind of jury to accept the premise that young women might pursue the ultimate in unsafe sex. During jury selection in the Chambers trial, recalls Defense Jury Consultant Andrea Longpre, "we were looking for people who had grown up in the '60s and '70s. Young people who were experimenting with life." Whatever the truth about her death, Kathleen Holland's experiments with life are now over. Her killer will be sentenced early next month.

—By Richard Lacayo,

Reported by Barbara L. Goldberg/New York

Small Stash

The Reagan Administration calls its new drug policy "zero tolerance," meaning that planes, vehicles and vessels may be confiscated for carrying even the tiniest amount of a controlled substance. And tiny means just that.

Last week the U.S. Coast Guard seized the *Ark Royal*, a \$2.5 million, 133-ft. yacht that was in international waters between Mexico and Cuba. The on-board stash: one-tenth of an ounce of marijuana. Because only the

captain and crew were on board at the time of the raid, it was not even apparent that the grass had been used by the yacht's owner. Though about 20 boats have been seized since mid-April, this incident led to loud public groaning from civil libertarians, who saw a mismatch between the punishment and the presumed crime. Eventually the Government relented.

The yacht was returned after the owner paid \$1,600 in fines and fees. But officials were satisfied that they had sent a message: Mere featherweight infractions can draw heavy penalties.



Ark Royal: a costly pinch of pot

Medicine

COVER STORY

Stop That Germ!

Rapid-fire discoveries are revealing how the body's immune system endlessly fights off disease—and occasionally goes awry

It's a jungle out there, teeming with hordes of unseen enemies. Bacteria, viruses, fungi and parasites fill the air. They cluster on every surface, from the restaurant table to the living-room sofa. They abound in lakes and in pools, flourish in the soil and disport themselves among the flora and fauna. This menagerie of microscopic organisms, most of them potentially harmful or even lethal, has a favorite target: the human body. In fact, the tantalizing human prey is a walking repository of just the kind of stuff the tiny predators need to survive, thrive and reproduce.

Humans are under constant siege by these voracious adversaries. Germs of every description strive tirelessly to invade the comfortably warm and bountiful body, entering through the skin or by way of the eyes, nose, ears and mouth. Fortunately for man's survival, most of them fail in their assault. They are repelled by the tough barrier of the skin, overcome by the natural pesticides in sweat, saliva and tears, dissolved by stomach acids or trapped in the sticky mucus of the nose or throat before being expelled by a sneeze or a cough. But the organisms are extraordinarily persistent, and some occasionally breach the outer defenses. After entering the bloodstream and tissues, they multiply at an alarming rate and begin destroying vital body cells.

The invaders soon receive a rude shock, for they encounter one of nature's most incredible and complex creations: the human immune system. Inside the body, a trillion highly specialized cells, regulated by dozens of remarkable proteins and honed by hundreds of millions of years of evolution, launch an unending battle against the alien organisms. It is high-pitched biological warfare, orchestrated with such skill and precision that illness in the average human being is relatively rare.

Early-warning cells constantly monitor the bloodstream and tissues for signs of the enemy. With the gusto of Pac-Man, they gobble up anything that is foreign to

the body. They envelop dust particles, pollutants, microorganisms and even the debris of battle: remnants of invaders and infected or damaged body cells. Other early warners direct the production of unique killer cells, each designed to attack and destroy a particular type of intruder. Some of the killers, alerted to body cells

most complex organ of them all, the brain. "The immune system has a phenomenal ability for dealing with information, for learning and memory, for creating and storing and using information," explains Immunologist William Paul of the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Declares Dr. Stephen Sherwin, director of clinical research at Genentech: "It's an incredible system. It recognizes molecules that have never been in the body before. It can differentiate between what belongs there and what doesn't."

Knowledge about the inner workings of the immune system has undergone an astonishing explosion in the past five years. Although researchers began to pry loose its secrets in the late 19th century, it was not until after World War II that the pace of discovery began to quicken, boosted by such achievements as the deciphering of the genetic code and recombinant DNA technology. But no early advances can match those of recent years, which have enabled doctors to devise ingenious new treatments for a host of disorders. Says Immunologist John Kappler, of the National Jewish Center for Immunology and Respiratory Medicine in Denver: "The field is progressing so rapidly that the journals are out of date by the time they are published."

Kappler is not exaggerating. In the past few months alone, dozens of new immune discoveries and promising therapies have been reported. Researchers announced in March that by activating certain immune cells, they had increased by 20% the five-year survival rate of patients in the early stages of lung cancer. In the same month, European scientists reported eliminating the need for insulin shots in some diabetic children by administering a drug that suppresses the immune system. Researchers in Colombia have tested a malaria vaccine that, unlike previous efforts, seems to provide protection against the disease. Advances have come so fast, says Dana-Farber's Benacerraf, that "we're now on the threshold of being able to activate the different components of the immune system at will to provide



Painful shot: two-month-old Austin Reed is inoculated with an experimental vaccine against meningitis.

that have become cancerous, may annihilate these too.

Endowed with such specialized weapons, the properly functioning immune system is a formidable barrier to disease. Even when an infection is severe enough to overcome the system's initial response and cause illness, the immune cells are usually able to regroup, call up reinforcements and eventually rout the invaders. But when the system is weakened by previous illness or advancing age, for example, the body becomes more vulnerable to cancers and a host of infectious diseases. And should the system overreact or go awry, it can cause troublesome allergies and serious disorders called autoimmune diseases.

As they probe the intricate workings of the immune system, scientists are awestruck. "It is an enormous edifice, like a cathedral," says Nobel Laureate Baruj Benacerraf, president of Boston's Dana-Farber Cancer Institute. The immune system is compared favorably with the



GOING IN FOR THE KILL

Ever vigilant, a patrolling macrophage sends out a cellular extension known as a pseudopod to engulf and destroy a bacterial cell before alerting more defenders.

LENNART NILSSON—ODD KJØRØD/NOELHEIM INTERNATIONAL/SMITH

therapies for cancer and even for AIDS."

In fact, it is the AIDS epidemic that has spurred much of the recent interest in immunology. The AIDS virus strikes a key component of the immune system, destroys it, and in so doing virtually knocks out the entire system. Nothing illustrates the importance of a healthy immune system more dramatically than the disastrous consequences of its loss. AIDS sufferers become vulnerable to many kinds of invading organisms. Fungal growths corrode the skin and lungs. Normally dormant parasites in the lungs become

active, causing *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia. As viruses and bacteria multiply out of control, competing for body cells and destroying them far faster than they can be replaced, victims can be stricken with severe cases of herpes and tuberculosis. What is more, they lose their resistance to some types of cancer, particularly Kaposi's sarcoma.

Tragic as it is, says Dr. Anthony Fauci, the AIDS research coordinator for the National Institutes of Health, the AIDS epidemic has provided important new insights into the immune system.

"AIDS is the perfect disease for studying the immune system," he explains. "The virus destroys one of the major cells of the system. So now nature is doing the experiment. It has just pulled out a major chip, and we're watching everything else go haywire." On the other hand, AIDS Expert Robert Gallo of the National Cancer Institute believes that much of the progress in AIDS research would have been impossible without discoveries about the immune system made shortly before the epidemic bloomed. "If AIDS had come along in the 1970s," he says, "we'd still

be looking under rocks for the cause."

Now, however, scientists have a good grasp not only of the broad workings of the immune system but of many of the nitty-gritty details as well. In a typical infection, for example, a flu virus burrows into a cell in the lining of an air passage, takes over the machinery of the cell, and orders it to produce more flu viruses. Quickly engorged, the invaded cell bursts, releasing new viruses to infiltrate other cells and replicate further. Left unchecked, the onslaught would eventually kill enough cells to cause death. But the intruders soon encounter roving scavenger cells called phagocytes, which simply engulf and digest them. These defenders—monocytes, neutrophils and macrophages—secrete substances that dilate nearby blood vessels and make them more permeable, enabling even more defenders to get from the bloodstream to the infection site. Other proteins, those belonging to the complement system, aid in this process.

Upon meeting a virus, the macrophage, which moves about, amoeba-like, on long cellular extensions known as pseudopods (false feet), does more than just ingest the intruder. It has another, even more important function. On its surface, like virtually all body cells, the macrophage carries

MHC (for major histocompatibility complex) molecules, protein badges that enable other immune cells to recognize the macrophage as friend, or self, and not attack it. After digesting the virus, the macrophage proudly displays strips of protein from the virus in the grooves of some of its MHC molecules. Once a bit of protein—which is part of the virus's own identity molecule, or antigen—is nestled in the groove of the macrophage's MHC molecule, it acts as a red flag for the immune system, warning it that a particular type of virus is loose in the body.

"At this point, it's still a race between the immune system and the virus," says Dr. Carl Nathan of Cornell University Medical College. "The virus is trying to replicate before the immune system has a chance to gear up." In order to mobilize the system, the macrophage must find—or literally bump into—a helper T cell, the battle manager of the immune system. The catch is that only a tiny fraction of the billions of T cells in the body are capable of attaching to the antigen of this particular flu virus and taking action. To increase its odds of meeting up with an appropriate T cell, the macro-

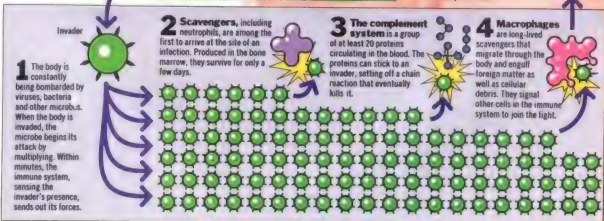
phage probably moves from the body tissue into the nearest lymph node, through which helper T cells of all kinds continually pass. Robert Coffman, a scientist at Palo Alto's DNAX Research Institute, likens the site to a busy Manhattan sidewalk. "If you walk the street enough," he says, "pretty soon you'll run into almost everyone who lives in New York City."

When the macrophage finally runs into a compatible helper T cell, it inserts its antigen-bearing MHC molecule into a T-cell receptor shaped to receive it, much as a key would fit into a lock. The macrophage then secretes a protein called interleukin-1, a chemical signal that causes the T cell to begin replicating. Simultaneously, interleukin-1 acts on the body's central thermostat, causing a fever, which may depress viral activity and enhance the immune response.

The rapidly multiplying helper T cells now begin releasing a flood of their own chemical signals, the so-called lympho-

BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

From deliberate exposure to an unguarded sneeze, the threat may come from anywhere. But the body commands a wide assortment of defenders to eliminate the danger and guard against repeat invasions.



kines, which include gamma interferon and other types of interleukin. These stimulate the defense system even more, spurring the proliferation of phagocytes, including macrophages, and other immune fighters—something like a draft call in wartime. The result is the familiar swelling and inflammation of an infection.

At the same time, other helper T cells in the lymph nodes move to couple with yet another kind of immune fighter, the B cells. Releasing still more chemicals, the helper T cells stimulate the B cells to reproduce. These proliferating B cells then mature into plasma cells, which DNAX's Coffman calls "dedicated antibody factories," that begin to mass-produce antibodies. Antibodies are proteins capable of recognizing and binding specifically to the flu virus that triggered the alarm. Circulating in the blood to seek out their quarry, they begin attaching themselves to the viruses, signaling the macrophages and other immune scavengers to move in for the kill.

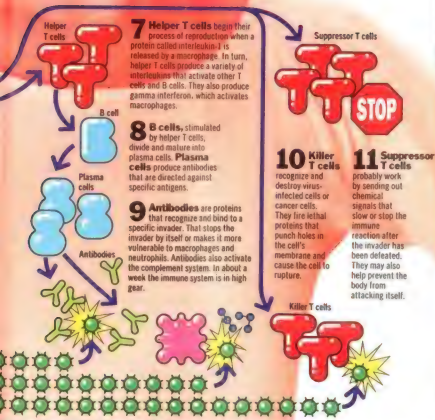
Meanwhile, gamma interferon released by the T cells has not only slowed viral replication

but also whipped the macrophages into a feeding frenzy. Their cell membranes become ruffled, their feet more numerous and their appetites ferocious. "They don't necessarily eat faster," notes Dr. Richard Johnston Jr. of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, "but they kill better."

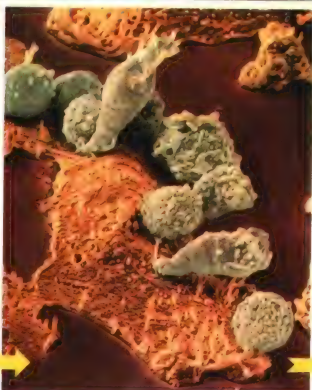
The flu viruses, however, are not finished yet. Those still multiplying inside the body's cells are momentarily safe from scavengers and antibodies, but the free lunch is over quickly. While the B cells are being activated, other helper T cells have been creating an army of killer T cells. These killers recognize the flu-ridden cells because, like macrophages, infected cells display a bit of viral antigen on their outer membranes. Says Coffman: "For many viral infections, the most important response is the killer T cell. Viruses live inside cells, so it's essential to kill not only the viruses themselves but those cells that are infected with the virus."

The killer T cells are relentless. Docking with infected cells, they shoot lethal proteins at the cell membrane. Holes form where the protein molecules hit, and the cell, dying, leaks out its insides. To ensure that the cell and its viral occupants are destroyed, the killer T cells then deliver the coup de grace by transmitting a signal that causes the cell to chew up DNA from both itself and the virus. Explains Dr. Irving Weissman of Stanford: "This is an overlapping, dual system of killing that ensures that the seed of viral production will be eliminated from the body."

When victory over the virus is achieved, the wildly accelerating responses of the immune system slow, then shut down. Scientists believe that still other immune specialists, known as suppressor T cells, call off the battle. As the



TIME Diagram by Jon Lortie, photos by Mario Ruiz



carnage wanes, the B cells and T cells perform a last, vastly important task: they form memory cells that circulate in the bloodstream and lymph system for many years, primed to spring into action should the same strain of flu virus ever attack again. In addition, the body is protected by specialized antibodies, strategically deployed in mucus, saliva and tears, that immediately recognize any return of this particular virus.

While a healthy immune system may take as long as three weeks to complete the job against a specific flu virus, its next response to the same viral strain reaches full force immediately, and the invaders are overcome before they can do any significant damage. In other words, the body has become immune—but only to that specific virus. "You probably wouldn't even know you'd been reinfected," says Carl Nathan. "The immune system has a short track and a long track, and it all depends on whether it's a first encounter or you've seen it before."

How did this astonishing biochemical system develop? The first stages in its evolution are a mystery. But scientists have deduced from the study of primitive species that rudimentary mechanisms against infection existed in various forms of life more than a billion years ago. The first inkling of such progenitors came in 1883, when Russian Zoologist Elié Metchnikoff stuck a rose thorn into the larva of a starfish and a short time later observed that the thorn had been completely surrounded by cells. The cells were phagocytes. "These little guys go back in

evolution a very long way," says Carol Reinisch of the Tufts School of Veterinary Medicine. "They have the ability to distinguish between self and nonself, which is the crucial distinction."

Over the eons, these primitive defenders developed increasingly sophisticated weapons to fight off microorganisms, which could mutate far more rapidly and thus evolve faster than higher forms of life. But it was probably not until about 600 million years ago, about the time vertebrates began to emerge, that the modern immune system, with its T cells and B cells, began to take shape. Once in place, these two cell types must have quickly evened the odds, since they have the remarkable ability of producing, respectively, a staggering variety of killer T cells and antibodies capable of attacking any invader.

How these immune cells produce such diversity was elucidated during the mid-1970s by Immunologist Susumu Tonegawa, now at M.I.T., who in 1987 was awarded the Nobel Prize for his achievement. Tonegawa proved that the B-cell genes that dictate the production of antibodies occur in distinct segments. These pieces, like cards in the hands of a Las Vegas dealer, are constantly and speedily shuffled into different combinations. Coupled with mutations that occur as B cells divide into plasma cells, such genes, in theory at least, could account for as many as 10 million antibody variations. Other scientists have shown that T cells have a similar mecha-

nism. Thus within the slowly evolving human being, the immune system is undergoing a rapid internal evolution of its own. And a good thing too. "If all we had to meet the microorganisms was 'true evolution,'" says NIH's William Paul, "we'd long ago have disappeared from the face of the earth."

Long before scientists even began to unravel the mysteries of this remarkable system, the ancients were aware of immunity. They knew from experience that anyone who survived certain diseases would not be likely to get them again. As early as the 11th century, Chinese doctors were manipulating the immune system. By blowing pulverized scabs from a smallpox victim into their patients' nostrils, they could often induce a mild case of the disease that prevented a more severe onslaught. In the 1700s, people rubbed their skin with dried scabs to protect themselves against the disease.

These primitive practices were introduced to England and the American colonies. In 1721 and 1722, during a smallpox epidemic, a Boston doctor named Zabdiel Boylston scratched the skin of his six-year-old son and 285 other people and rubbed pus from smallpox scabs into the wounds. All but six of his patients survived.

A much safer approach to immunology was made in 1796, when Edward Jenner decided it was more than coincidence that milkmaids stricken with a mild form of the cattle disease called cowpox were rarely victims of smallpox. He inoculated James Phipps, 8, with cowpox, then ex-



DEATH OF A CANCER CELL

A squad of killer T cells surround a cancerous cell, move in for the kill, and leave behind nothing but its cellular skeleton.

Recognition: the aroused elite troops, attracted to the abnormal cell by its telltale surface antigens, begin to take lethal action.

Attack: the killer cells, normally round, change their shape as they wage chemical warfare to break down the membrane of the cancer cell.

Aftermath: the cancer cell, once it has ruptured, spills its innards and dies, leaving only a collapsed network of fibers behind.

posed him to smallpox six weeks later. The boy never came down with the disease, confirming that the immunization had worked. More than a century and a half passed before scientists knew the reason: the antigens on the cowpox virus are so similar to those on the smallpox virus that they can prime the immune system to repel a smallpox infection.

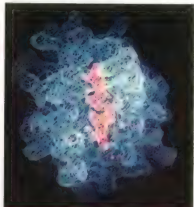
In 1880 Louis Pasteur, a French microbiologist, concocted a vaccine against chicken cholera after discovering that weakened cholera organisms, while incapable of making chickens sick, would immunize them against the malady. Pasteur, who is credited with founding the science of immunology, went on to create a human rabies vaccine from the brains of rabies-infected sheep and rabbits.

Building on Pasteur's work, 20th-century scientists have learned to mass-produce bacteria and viruses, then weaken or kill them and use them as the major ingredient in vaccines for such varied diseases as typhus, yellow fever, influenza, polio, measles and rubella. Unfortunately, the vaccines occasionally cause the disease they are designed to ward off. (Reason: the "killed" viruses sometimes survive, while the weakened versions often fail to cause an immune response.) In general, however, the vaccines have been quite effective: in recent years the National Academy of Sciences has reported only a handful of polio and diphtheria cases and only a few deaths caused by whooping cough and rubella. Maurice Hilleman, director of Pennsylvania's Merck Institute for Therapeutic Research, characterizes

the early vaccine era as the "stumbling-along period."

These days the explosive growth of both molecular biology and immunology has enabled vaccine makers to take a safer and more effective approach to their work. Instead of using dead or attenuated bacteria or viruses, they remove from the bug's surface the marker protein, or antigen, that provokes the immune response. Employing gene-splicing techniques, they mass-produce the antigen, or a portion of it, and use it as the prime ingredient of the vaccine.

Researchers are also creating vac-



BADGE OF IDENTITY

X-ray image of a major histocompatibility complex (MHC) protein, the key to the body's ability to distinguish its own cells from others.

cines that consist largely of antigens synthesized from chemicals on the laboratory shelf. When these vaccines prove ineffective, scientists can now usually determine why. Says M.I.T. Molecular Biologist Malcolm Gelfer: "Today, when a vaccine doesn't elicit a protective response, it is possible to detect what is or is not working—the B cells, the T cells, the lymphokines, whatever." Scientists can then "fix" the vaccine. For example, the 1985 vaccine against *Hemophilus influenzae* Type B, which causes bacterial meningitis, was only partially effective; although it protected older children, it did not work for babies under two years, who are most at risk. The antigen used to make the original vaccine has been re-engineered to make it more potent, and the new vaccine is being tested in infants.

Despite such advanced techniques, it seems tougher than ever to create new vaccines. Some viruses, bacteria and parasites are so complex and well evolved in their defenses against an immune reaction that no vaccine strategy has yet been entirely effective. Flu viruses, for example, mutate rapidly, continually changing their antigens in the process. As a result, an immune system strengthened by a flu shot against last year's predominant strain of flu will probably not be helped by it this year. The common cold virus is also troublesome, because it comes in at least 100 identifiable varieties. The parasite that causes malaria poses still other problems: it penetrates cells so quickly that it is hidden from antibodies. To complicate matters, it goes through three stages of life, displaying different antigens in each stage. Because none of the malaria vaccines yet developed can cope with these diverse strategies, the affliction is still rampant in the tropics.

Such challenges to the vaccine makers, however, pale in comparison with that presented by the AIDS virus. Says M.I.T.'s Gelfer: "We're looking at a strong, well-evolved, well-designed organism that is doing whatever it can to protect itself." The AIDS virus mutates twice as fast as the flu bug. It can lie dormant in body cells, where antibodies cannot attack it, without revealing its telltale antigen to dead giveaway to killer cells. New findings indicate that the virus also uses immunological decoys that provoke impotent immune responses. Worst of all, the AIDS virus is unique in that it can mount a speedy and lethal attack on helper T cells, which cripples the immune system before it can counterattack. This means that to prevent an AIDS infection from taking hold, a vaccine must stimulate the immune system to incapacitate the AIDS virus immediately after exposure, before it can penetrate the helper T cells.

Scientists are scrutinizing the AIDS virus for any sections of its outer coat that remain unchanged during its rapid mutations. With antigens from these sections, they hope to produce a vaccine that will remain effective despite many mutations. A group led by Dr. Daniel Zagury at the Pierre and Marie Curie University in Par-

Medicine



DEADLY INVADERS

After being attacked by malaria parasites, stricken red blood cells, one of them burst open, team with newly formed protozoans that will go on to infect other healthy cells.

is has created one such vaccine, which he claims produces a weak immune reaction. Zagury and several volunteers went so far as to inoculate themselves with the vaccine last year. Even so, many researchers, Merck's Hilleman among them, believe the prospects for an AIDS vaccine are dismal. Others disagree. "We've known about the tricks of this virus for only a

year or so," says Geffer. "With a better understanding of its strategems and with the genetic-engineering tools we have, we can design sophisticated vaccines tailor-made to the life cycle of the AIDS virus."

Even without provocation by the AIDS virus or other infectious organisms, the immune system can sometimes go awry. Often, entirely on its own, it can over-

respond, fail to respond or turn against the body it is designed to protect with the same lethal fury it directs against invaders and cancerous cells. Some 80 immune-system deficiencies have been identified so far. About one in 400 people has at least one immune-system component missing or malfunctioning, usually for genetic reasons. In one in 10,000 people, the deficiency leads to serious disorders. Perhaps the most tragic example is severe combined immunodeficiency disease, a rare condition in which both B cells and T cells are lacking. The most famous SCID victim, a Texas boy named David, lived for twelve years in a germ-free bubble while doctors searched in vain for a cure for his disease. He died in 1984, four months after receiving a bone-marrow transplant that doctors hoped would supply his missing immune cells.

As hay fever and other allergy sufferers will testify, the immune system can sometimes react to pollen, animal dander,

Therapies Bolster The Battle Against Cancer

For more than 30 years, doctors have been trying to rally the weakened immune systems of cancer patients to fight the disease. Only recently, however, have therapies been developed that bring some of the body's own most potent weapons to bear in the struggle to repel invaders ranging from cancer to the AIDS virus. Those weapons include antibodies, tumor-killing blood cells and the chemical messengers that regulate them.

One promising approach is the use of interleukin-2, one of the proteins called lymphokines, which are produced by the immune system. IL-2 is now being administered in various ways to stimulate the white blood cells that attack tumors. Expensive—upwards of \$80,000 for one course of treatment—and dangerous, IL-2 is usually reserved for patients with advanced cancer. Amy Hance, 25, of Bloomington, Ill., reached that stage early this year. Melanoma, a deadly skin cancer, had spread to her liver, spleen, stomach and lungs. The determined Hance opted for experimental IL-2 therapy, even though side effects—including fever, massive fluid retention, anemia, nausea, vomiting, diarrhea and heart and lung problems—had killed several patients.

At the University of Chicago's Billings Hospital, her blood was run through a machine to separate out white cells, which were incubated for several days in IL-2 to turn them into LAKs, or lymphokine-activated killer cells. The cells were then dripped back into a vein, along with IL-2. Her temperature shot up, and severe nausea set in. "I never think of the symptoms as bad, because I know there's this big fight going on in there," says Hance. Her bold gamble paid off: after 4½ weeks of treatment, her tumors had shrunk by 80%.

IL-2 appears to stimulate certain immature white cells to mature into killer cells that destroy cancer. Since 1984, when the treatment was developed by Dr. Steven

Rosenberg of the National Cancer Institute, more than 400 Americans have received it. Though there have been some spectacular successes, IL-2 is clearly no cure for cancer. Five percent to 10% of patients experience complete remission, and more have partial ones. But the majority reap no benefit at all. Given the expense and the risks, the treatment has come in for some sharp criticism. Even so, University of Pennsylvania Oncologist Kevin Fox notes that IL-2 therapy is the only treatment that works at all on advanced melanoma and kidney cancer. Admits Rosenberg: "It's a treatment in its infancy."

Rosenberg is working on a new and potentially more powerful therapy called TILs, for tumor-infiltrating lymphocytes. In tests on mice, he notes, these cells appear "50 to 100 times more potent than LAK." TILs are actually killer T cells that, like LAK cells, can attack cancer cells. To produce them, researchers expose malignant cells removed from the patient to IL-2. The tissue includes killer T cells that have launched a weak attack; with a sharp boost from the IL-2, they replicate and proceed to destroy the cancer. A month later, the newly potent T cells, vastly increased in number, are then infused into the patient, followed by additional IL-2.

Eight of Rosenberg's first nine patients, who had not responded to other treatments, had "good responses" to TILs. One has been in complete remission for five months. Tumors

have dramatically shrunk in others, and, because patients have been exposed to IL-2 only briefly, side effects have been mild. Rosenberg is convinced that the future of cancer therapy lies in finding the right combinations of immune-system regulators, including the interleukins and interferons. Other researchers have high hopes for monoclonal antibodies that can carry drugs or radiation directly to tumors or help other immune-system cells kill the cancer cells. "Every year," says Rosenberg, "485,000 Americans die of cancer. We desperately need new treatments. One dream has been to harness the body's own defense mechanisms. It has turned out to be an extraordinarily difficult and challenging job." And it will not be finished for some time.

—By Denise Grady.

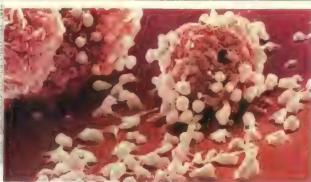
Reported by J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago



Amy Hance receiving IL-2 therapy

molds and drugs that are normally harmless. In allergy victims, however, the immune system goes into high gear at the appearance of these substances, or allergens. It begins producing antibodies called immunoglobulin E, which attach themselves to mast cells located in the tissues of the skin, in the linings of the respiratory and intestinal tracts, and around the blood vessels. The mast cells promptly begin to release a number of chemical signals, including histamine, a substance that dilates blood vessels and makes it easier for cells to pass through the capillary walls. These changes, meant to expedite the arrival of immune cells, cause the inflammation and swelling associated with allergic reactions.

Allergy sufferers are now treated with antihistamines, which temporarily block the immune response, as well as steroid nasal sprays and inhalers, which reduce inflammation. But more effective help may be on the way. Scientists have synthesized bits of protein molecules that prevent immunoglobulin E antibodies



SNEEZE COMING ON?

Exploding mast cell releases granules full of histamine that cause sneezing and watery eyes; allergy sufferers overproduce antibodies that assault mast cells when allergens like pollen enter the body.

ies from setting off an allergic reaction.

One of the more devastating errors of the immune system involves its failure to distinguish between self and nonself, resulting in so-called autoimmune diseases, which can be crippling and sometimes fatal. Dozens of disorders that once mystified doctors are now thought to be autoimmune. Among them: Type 1 diabetes,

myasthenia gravis, multiple sclerosis, rheumatoid arthritis and systemic lupus erythematosus. In these and other autoimmune diseases, the immune system mounts a selective and ferocious assault against parts of the body, destroying cells or cell components that it mistakenly identifies as alien.

Type 1 diabetes, for example, which

How a Miracle Drug Disarms The Body's Defenses

Some of the immune system's biggest battles are directed not against harmful intruders but against potentially life-saving organ transplants. New hearts and kidneys in adults have become fairly commonplace, and top surgeons have even attempted the daunting feat of transplanting multiple abdominal organs into infants and toddlers. Today's organ recipients are indebted to a drug called cyclosporine, which has revolutionized transplantation technology in the past decade. Unlike immunological treatments for AIDS and cancer, cyclosporine works by temporarily suppressing the body's natural defenses, thus preventing the rejection of grafted tissue.

The miracle of cyclosporine comes at a steep price. The drug can cause severe damage to the kidneys as well as allow cancerous tumors to develop. Moreover, cyclosporine costs as much as \$6,000 for a year's supply, and patients may need it for life. Still, declares Calvin Stiller, chief of transplantation at University Hospital in London, Ont., "cyclosporine clearly stands out as the most important medical discovery in transplantation. It changed the field."

Ever since the pioneering transplant operations of the 1960s, the chief obstacle to the full recovery of transplant patients has been the immune system's xenophobic zeal to destroy anything that is foreign to the body. Once the alien threat has been identified, agents known as helper T cells unleash the powerful immune response that attacks grafted tissue. During the 1970s, physicians found that they could minimize this reaction by more closely matching the MHC proteins, or immunological "dog tags," of a donor with those of the recipient. Even so, they could not completely eliminate the rejection response. To make matters worse, the only drugs available to weaken it shut down the defensive system completely, leaving patients vulnerable to viruses, bacteria or tumors. The triple threat of rejection, infection and

malignancy kept transplant surgery to a minimum.

Enter cyclosporine. Discovered in 1970 by a scientist at Sandoz, a Swiss pharmaceutical company, the drug was nearly abandoned as worthless. Unexpectedly, however, researchers found that it was a highly selective suppressor of helper T cells. By preventing the activation of the T cells, the drug interferes with the body's instinct to attack a transplanted organ. Yet unlike other suppressants, it does not affect other parts of the immune system. Cyclosporine is thus able to dampen the rejection reaction while leaving a large part of the body's infection-fighting defenses intact.

Physicians began testing the drug on humans in 1978. The results were dramatic. Both rejection and infection continued to be problems, but survival rates one year after transplantation rose from 32% to 70% for liver patients and from 54% to 77% for kidney patients. "By early 1980," recalls Thomas Starzl of the University of Pittsburgh, a leading transplant surgeon, "we had a sense that there was a tremendous change in outlook in both kidneys and livers, and that enthusiasm quickly spread to the heart." Cyclosporine is highly toxic, however, and researchers have begun to look for alternatives. Ideally, they foresee a therapy that would prevent rejection but also persuade the immune system to tolerate a transplanted organ even after treatment is halted.

For now, surgeons and their patients must still walk the tightrope between the natural potency of the immune system and the perils of suppressing it. The balancing act is especially tricky in the most difficult of operations: multiple abdominal transplants. Doctors in the U.S. have tried such surgery only four times in the past four years. Just one patient, now seriously ill, survives. Ten-month-old Michael Steward of Chicago received a new liver, pancreas, small intestine and part of the stomach in February to correct a congenital defect. Last week, a record 6½ months after a similar operation, three-year-old Tabatha Foster of Madisonville, Ky., succumbed to cancer. The lesson: physicians have a great deal more to learn before they can manipulate the immune system at will.

—By Christine Gorman

Reported by Barbara Dolan/Chicago



Organ Recipient Michael Steward

Medicine

afflicts 1.5 million Americans and is brought on by an insufficient supply of insulin, was for years believed to be caused by a virus. Researchers have now shown that it probably results from a defective immune system. For reasons that are not yet clear, immune cells invade the pancreas and destroy the beta cells, which produce insulin. When this happens, the body cannot convert sugar into the energy that cells need to function. The cells starve, and the unconverted sugar builds up in the bloodstream, damaging the fragile lining of blood vessels. Complications associated with Type 1 diabetes include heart and kidney disease, poor circulation, eye problems and stroke.

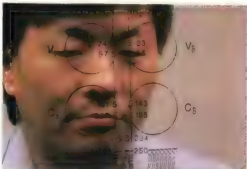
However incomplete, the emerging understanding of the immune system's role in Type 1 diabetes has led to an experimental treatment. In Canada and Europe, researchers have weaned diabetics from their insulin shots after giving them cyclosporine, a drug used in organ transplants to suppress the immune system. Doses of cyclosporine, which works by dampening T-cell attacks on the beta cells, have produced dramatic results: many patients have been able to discontinue their insulin shots for up to a year. Still, by undermining the entire immune system, cyclosporine leaves the diabetic more vulnerable to other diseases. And when given in high doses, it can have serious side effects, including kidney damage.

In an attempt to find a more selective treatment for Type 1 diabetes, researchers are trying to figure out exactly why the immune system attacks the beta cells. Last October a Stanford University team discovered errant forms of a gene that controls the development and growth of the culprit T cells. The team's conjecture: in Type 1 diabetes, this gene produces a protein badge that differs slightly from the norm in structure, causing the immune system to attack the beta cells. Eventually, the group hopes to find a way to neutralize the harmful effects of the molecule and thus eliminate the need for immune suppressants like cyclosporine.

Another autoimmune disease, myasthenia gravis, a neuromuscular disorder that afflicts 15,000 Americans, is caused by antibodies that attack vital links in the nervous system, and leads to gradual loss of muscular control. Initial studies suggest that small doses of cyclosporine may be effective in blunting the symptoms of the disease. Some researchers, however, are searching for a more selective remedy that involves mass-producing antibodies that are specific to one antigen. These so-called monoclonal antibodies are de-



Rosenberg: looking for cancer-killing cells



Tonegawa: examining diagram of proteins from T cells



Groopman: holding a vial of colony-stimulating factor

signed to immobilize only those B cells that produce the antibodies responsible for the disease.

Some of the most promising new therapies arising from recent research involve the chemical signals, or lymphokines, that regulate the immune system. These extraordinary proteins have a bewildering array of names and functions. There are, for instance, three types of interferon—alpha, beta and gamma. Alpha alone comes in more than a dozen varieties. Interleukins are similarly prolific. "We are already up to interleukin-7 and interleukin-8," says Immunologist Lloyd Old, of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in Manhattan, "and one can expect that we will go on from there." Scientists have so far discovered at least five different colony-stimulating factors, which cause cells in the bone marrow to mature and differentiate into red and

white blood cells. Each of the players seems to have a vital, if sometimes overlapping, role.

Using bioengineering techniques, medical researchers have begun to mass-produce these substances and use them, sometimes in combined "cocktails," to boost the immune system against specific diseases. In clinical trials at Boston's New England Deaconess Hospital, Dr. Jerome Groopman has found that granulocyte-macrophage colony-stimulating factor reverses bone-marrow failure and boosts white-cell counts in AIDS patients. Gamma interferon seems to remedy the defective functioning of monocytes and macrophages in a wide variety of diseases. Alpha interferon has been particularly effective against two types of leukemia and non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, a cancer of the lymph system. Says Dr. Jordan Gutterman, of Houston's M.D. Anderson Hospital and Tumor Institute: "There are ten different tumors in which potentially important anti-tumor activity by interferon has been demonstrated."

Interleukin-2 has shown promising results in treating advanced skin and kidney cancers. In fact, says Gutterman, there appears to be "tremendous synergy" between alpha interferon and IL-2 in attacking cancer cells. While IL-2 works to make the killer cells more potent, he explains, they "have to recognize something unique on the surface of the cancer cell in order to kill it." That something is an antigen, and interferon seems to make it more "visible" to the killer cells.

Scientists are proceeding cautiously with the new therapies. "In any substance that is immunologically active," observes Genentech's Sherwin, "you run the risk of tilting the balance in an unfavorable way. We don't know all of the answers yet."

That may be an understatement. Immunologist Leroy Hood of the California Institute of Technology is certain that the lymphokines discovered so far are "just the tip of the iceberg" and that more subcategories of T cells will be found. He emphasizes that scientists do not yet fully understand, among other things, how B and T cells differentiate, and how the immune system's genes are turned on and off at different times. "In the truest sense," he says, "immunology is just in its youth." Still, says Sherwin, "there's an enormous amount we know now that we didn't know five years ago, and five years from now we'll know even more." Immunology may indeed still be in its youth, but it is growing up fast.

—By Leon Jaroff

Reported by J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago, Dick Thompson/Washington and Suzanne Wymelenberg/Boston



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People

Who is that stranger? Muscovites asked. A member of the Politburo? No, too handsome. **Mikhail Gorbachev** in multi? No, too slim. The answer: **Robert Redford**. Robert who? No crowds gawked at Hollywood's superstar as he wandered the Soviet capital. Says Redford: "It's ironic I've found this freedom in a society that's not supposed to be as free as ours." On a ten-day jaunt at Moscow's invitation, Redford has set up a minifestival of his movies, including *The Milagro Beanfield War* and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*. How do Muscovites rate as fans? "They're more quiet in the theater," says Redford. O Fame, where is thy Sting?



Robert Redford in Moscow: far from the gawking crowd

It may not seem that way, but **Div** **Beverly Sills** is the retiring type. At twelve, she was the girl on the Rinsio White radio commercials. Then she retired. By 32, she had come back and was a leading singer at the New York City Opera. Then she retired. By 49, she had not only returned but was also the



Beverly Sills says goodbye again

company's prima donna. Again she retired. Last week the brilliant coloratura soprano announced that next January she will once more retire, this time from her incarnation as director of City Opera. "So far," says Sills. "I have been lucky to know the right time to leave. Ten years is a long time." She plans to vacation with her husband **Peter Greenough** and "see if he can remember what my first name is."

The first to spot the signs was **Big Bird**. Last December

Luis and Maria, co-workers at the local Fix-It Shop, were acting funny. "Why would grown-ups need to hold hands to cross the street?" **Big Bird** wondered. Love was in bloom on *Sesame Street*, and last week, despite the ominous date—Friday the 13th—Luis (**Emilio Delgado**) and Maria (**Sonia Manzano**) were married in a ceremony attended by all their friends, both human and Muppet. "It's a simple message we're dealing with," said **Lisa Simon**, one of the show's producers. "You become a family by forming bonds. That's what

love is." However, there is a touch of dissonance. In his trash can, **Oscar the Grouch** grumbled that the whole affair was disgusting. But that's just because he's fallen out with his girlfriend **Grundgetta**.

"What's the hurry?" **Irving Berlin** said on his 99th birthday when told of plans to celebrate his centennial. Last week, at the only gala he sanctioned for his 100th, the reclusive songwriter stayed home. Smart move. Taped for broadcast on CBS on May 27, the show may

Maria and Luis get hitched: **Big Bird** saw the whole thing coming



sound better on television than it did live in Carnegie Hall. But it did have its high points: Broadway and TV star **Neil Carter** hip-hopping through *Alexander's Ragtime Band*, **Michael Feinstein** singing *I Love a Piano*, and **Garrison Keillor** reciting *All Alone*. But then there were the lows: tinny amplification, an overpowering brass section. **Bea Arthur's** comphless *Hostess with the Master's* and **Leonard Bernstein's** self-indulgent twelve-tone parody of *A*



Neil Carter at the Berlin bash

Russian Lullaby. Bernstein was also notable for ad hoc choreography. In seamless motion during the final bows, he embraced **Shirley Maclaine**, knelt before **Marilyn Horne** and lodged himself beside **Frank Sinatra**. The show is ended—thank God, Berlin's melodies linger on.

When Heavyweight Champion **Mike Tyson** makes a request, people listen. And if "Iron Mike" wants you to take a Bentley off his hands, what can you do? Tyson, who earned \$10 million from his last fight, made just that request to two policemen who approached him after he had scratched his brand-new \$183,000 silver Bentley in a New York City fender bender. "I've had nothing but bad luck and accidents with this car," the boxer said. "You guys take this car, and keep it." After some hesitation, the cops accepted. Unfortunately, police higher-ups heard of the "gift," returned the Bentley and reprimanded the beneficiaries.

—By Howard G. Chua-Eoan



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Sport

A Heady Mix: Booze and Baseball

Bottom of the ninth, the barstools were loaded and Billy was out

Baseball, hot dogs, apple pie and alcohol. Home runs, strip joints, barroom brawls and Billy Martin. It seems the drug cloud of the past two or three seasons has finally lifted, and the grand old game is itself again, in stitches over another Martin episode. 40 stitches this time, around the left ear. A recounting of his baseball career is more than just a primer for an emergency room. It's an argument for wholesome depravity.

Though Martin had a few early scraps with Clint Courtney, Billy Hunter, Jimmy Piersall, Larry Doby and Roy Campanella, they were as preliminary as Jack Dempsey's first fights under the name Kid Blackie. In the *Ring* book, Martin's official record begins in 1957 at New York City's Copacabana nightclub, where Yankee Teammates Mickey Mantle, Whitey Ford, Yogi Berra, Hank Bauer and Johnny Kucks were toasting Martin's 29th birthday at the same time that a Bronx man named Edward Jones was celebrating the end of the bowling season.

By most accounts, Bauer was actually the one who broke Jones' nose. But the outfielder's alibi was compelling. "Hit him?" shrugged Bauer, batting .203 at the time. "Why, I haven't hit anybody all year." Only the humble pitcher Kucks was impressed by the \$1,000 fines handed down a few days later in Cleveland. "Do you know if there is a good nightclub in this town?" Berra asked the writers. But only Martin was truly blamed. He was traded to Kansas City.

In 1960 Martin socked Cubs Pitcher Jim Brewer solidly enough to inspire a \$1 million lawsuit. "How does he want it?" Billy asked, starting to get into the spirit of the thing. "Cash or green stamps?" By

the end of the '60s, Martin was an itinerant manager batting out minor club officials and bespectacled traveling secretaries with either hand. Outside a Detroit bar, he flattened one of his own players, Dave Boswell, and began moving up through the ranks of bantamweight sportswriters and marshmallow salesmen to unidentified phantoms.

"I should have punched his lights out, I should have punched his lights out," Martin once seethed behind the desk as a gaggle of reporters standing around his Yankee Stadium office looked at one another strangely. "I know how I'd do it too. I'd say something, he'd say something, I'd say something, he'd say something. He'd take a swing. There you are. Self-defense."

With a bloody loss at the hands and feet of Pitcher Ed Whitson in 1985, Martin was plainly on his way to Palookaville. But the beating or bouncing he took two weeks ago at a Texas topless bar came close enough to his 60th birthday, and near enough to the Copa, to seem to make a full circle. Mantle was even there a little earlier, still leering at 56. The funniest line was Martin's: "I guess I can't go anywhere anymore," as if he had been at midnight Mass. The saddest was Yankee First Baseman Don Mattingly's unintentional upreper: "Who would hit a 60-year-old man? That's like beating up your grandfather."

During spring training, Commissioner Peter Ue-

beroth quietly tried to talk to Martin about his drinking. But alcohol and baseball have always had a charmed association. Beer is practically a synonym for the sport. Hockey scrapes Drunken Driver Pelle Lindbergh off the highway, while basketball and football shake their heads at Chris Mullin and Tommy Kramer. But baseball literally cheers for hangers. In Mel Allen's day at the Yankee Mike, home runs were "Ballantine blasts." Now the St. Louis Cardinals do their rallying to the Budweiser jingle played incessantly on the Busch Stadium organ.

The father of a beer belch that could knock down every drop of loose water in the locker-room shower was, of course, Babe Ruth. "When the Babe left the train for the ball park," relates Pete Rose, as if Rose were not only alive then but could still smell the yeast, "he would remind the porter to have the bathtub full of beer by the time he returned." Rose got the story straight from Waite Hoyt, the late pitcher and alcoholic, who along with Third Baseman Joe Dugan was a pallbearer at Ruth's funeral in August 1948. "I'd give \$100 for a cold beer," Dugan whispered to Hoyt, who murmured, "So would the Babe."

Don Newcombe, the old Brooklyn pitcher, estimates, "On the championship team of '55, I guess the Dodgers had seven or eight abusive drinkers, including me. In society, we don't take alcohol too seriously. In sports, we laugh at it. It's all one big Lite-beer commercial." He's an alcohol counselor now, and the counselors have a pretty good pitching rotation. "I never really knew what it was like to pitch a sober inning," says Ryne Duren, the Yankee reliever of the early '60s.



Another scrape for Martin

Sport

"When I was with the Yankees in the mid-'70s," says Sudden Sam McDowell, "they hired a baby-sitter to stop me from drinking. All that did was make it a challenge."

Last month, on the same day he was fired as Baltimore manager, Cal Ripken Sr. pleaded guilty to drunken driving, a familiar Oriole road that Earl Weaver had swerved down before him. A manager is scarcely a manager if his nose has never required batteries. Tommy Lasorda, who for insurance reasons has removed the beer keg from his Dodger Stadium office, tells some funny stories about the huge consumers he has managed—not including the ones who had to take time to dry out, like the young pitcher Bob Welch. Interestingly, Newcombe had approved of Lasorda's office tap. "It kept the players from grabbing six packs to go," he says. "Now I wish the Dodgers would stop selling alcohol in the stands after the fifth inning."

Responding to a spate of hooliganism in 1985, 18 of baseball's 26 teams (including the Dodgers) have closed their bars after the seventh or eighth inning, twelve have instituted nondrinking "family" sections, and a few have decreased the alcohol content of the beer and banned carry-ins. In Baltimore the unofficial Oriole mascot, beer-bellied Cabbdriver Wild Bill Hagy, ceremoniously tossed his cooler off the upper deck in protest. "While it may have a number of social causes," says National League President Bart Giamatti, "fan unruliness cannot be separated from the issue of excessive use of alcohol. I have no data, but I would say that more problems occur and more human damage is done because of excessive drinking than because of drugs."

Only three major league teams are owned by brewers or distillers—St. Louis, Toronto and Montreal—but all of them are in the business. "It's not a question of winking at drinking," says American League President Bobby Brown when asked if baseball ever thought of altering the association. "If you had your druthers and you could paint some utopian society, you might start thinking about things like that."

For the players, drinking after the game is like chewing and scratching during it: it's baseball. "A couple of beers," Mets Pitcher Dwight Gooden shrugged shortly after he left a drug center last year. "I know the people at Smithers tell you to stay away from everything—beer, whiskey, chewing tobacco, everything. But beer's not a problem with me." The Padres, Dodgers, Pirates, Angels and White Sox have yanked all the alcohol out of the clubhouse. Padres Reliever Goose Gossage reacted like Hagy and is now with the Cubs. "Poor Babe Ruth," Gossage grumbled. "He couldn't play today." Sure he could. But at least off the field he would have a harder time leading the league.

—By Tom Callahan

Reported by Lawrence Mond/News York



Budd in Bloemfontein last week: tuned like a violin but unwilling to play an anti-apartheid song

"I Can't Take It Anymore"

A depressed Zola Budd turns her back on her running career

She could run like a gazelle, the symbol of her native South Africa, her lanky gait propelling a diminutive body. But Zola Budd, 21, was never able to run away from her ties to her country and its racial policies. Last week she gave up trying, and tearfully returned to her hometown of Bloemfontein, stating sadly, "I have lost my love for athletics." Her homecoming blocked any chance of an Olympic appearance in Seoul and seemed to end the career of one of the world's best women distance runners.

Budd popped up in world headlines four years ago, a slip of a girl running barefoot across the South African veld. She had taken 6.5 seconds off the women's 5,000-meter world record, but the 112-lb., 5-ft. 4-in. teenager's time was not officially recognized because South Africa's athletes are in the shadow of a worldwide anti-apartheid ban.

Shortly after, she was spirited into Britain by a London tabloid, and in only 13 days she was granted citizenship on the basis that her grandfather was an Englishman. This made Budd eligible to join Britain's Olympic team, but it earned her hostility from British runners and from opponents of apartheid. The trouble was that the shy, introverted athlete refused to reject her homeland's racist policy.

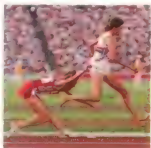
But she made it to the Los Angeles Games, and there disaster struck spectacularly when Budd collided with American Mary Decker during the 3,000 meters. Boomed off the track (though she was later exonerated), the South African fled to Bloemfontein. She returned to Britain in 1985 to break the world record in the 5,000 meters; she also

won the World Cross-Country Championships in 1985 and 1986.

The protesters kept after her. She planned to compete in the World Cross-Country Championships in New Zealand this year but withdrew after the British team was threatened with suspension. Last month she was accused of participating in a 1987 track meet outside Johannesburg. Even though she did not compete, the International Amateur Athletic Federation recommended that the British suspend her from international competition for at least a year, or face an Olympic ban themselves.

"The tension just got too much for her," said Budd's mother. "She couldn't sleep, didn't want to sleep." Sports Surgeon Ken Kingsbury, who examined Budd, confirmed she was "in a bad way—she was sweating a lot, had headaches and a raised pulse." Back home, Budd complained, "I have been made to feel like a criminal. I have been continuously hounded, and I can't take it anymore."

"Zola has been a political pawn and sacrificed to the African states," said Olympic Sprinter Allan Wells, one of her few British friends. Others felt that Budd was not without blame. Tony Ward, a spokesman for the British Amateur Athletic Board, insisted that her adoption



Decker falls at the 1984 Games

of Britain had been prompted by "ambition and greed." Through it all, "people tended to forget that she was a highly strung girl—any long-distance runner is as finely tuned as a violin," said British Coach John Bryant. Finally, it seems, the taut string has snapped. —By David Brand. Reported by Helen Gibson/London and Guy Hawthorne/Johannesburg



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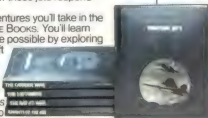
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Books

Trespassers Will Be Prosecuted

IN SEARCH OF J.D. SALINGER by Ian Hamilton
Random House, 224 pages; \$17.95

There are hundreds of writers waiting in varying stages of despair for their phone to ring. They dream of giving interviews, being summoned to lionizing appearances and literary lunches. A reviewing assignment would be welcome; a request to blurb a fellow author's new book would not go unconsidered. But life is unfair. Those who have get, and those who could get sometimes choose not to. Like J.D. Salinger, who has spent most of his 69 years ducking the sort of publicity that most authors would kill for.

A consequence of Salinger's evasions is that he has become as famous for defending his privacy against nosy admirers and journalists as he is for writing *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951), the *Huckleberry Finn* of the Silent Generation. Salinger's last published story, *Hapworth 16, 1924*, appeared in *The New Yorker* in 1965, twelve years after he withdrew to 90 wooded acres in Cornish, N.H. He has been generally successful in protecting his solitude. But because he refuses to collaborate in the making of his own legend ("Because I might get to believe it," he told an inquirer years ago), Salinger has been less able to control what is written about him.

Or has he? Ask Ian Hamilton. Before being allowed to publish *In Search of J.D. Salinger*, the British critic, poet and biographer (Robert Lowell) was put through two rewrites and 1½ years of legal proceedings, culminating in a landmark court ruling that many publishing insiders fear will hamper the future practice of biography. Hamilton's trouble started when he came across more than 100 unpublished letters, stored mainly in the libraries of Princeton and the University of Texas at Austin. The correspondence dates from 1939 to 1961, and provided him with a rich deposit of raw material and, at first, quotations. Salinger apparently did not know where his mail had ended up, although it is clear that he wished it had been burned.

Most of the letters were written to Whit Burnett, Salinger's teacher and the editor of *Story* magazine; Elizabeth Murray, a friend; Judge Learned Hand, a New England neighbor; and Hamish Hamilton and Roger MacNeil, the author's British publishers. The young Salinger was full of strong opinions and pithy wisecracks. His view of U.S. publishing: "Everybody over



Salinger in 1953: concerns about an "enormous chilling effect"

here who's ever taught Senior English for a couple of semesters, or worked for a good upholsterer, has considered himself qualified to collect and edit a short story anthology."

A book dealer provided Salinger with a galley of Hamilton's original work, then titled *J.D. Salinger: A Writing Life*. Salinger immediately objected and had the correspondence copyrighted, an act that paved the way for court action but allowed any-

one to read his mail at the Library of Congress. Hamilton agreed to paraphrase most of the letters rather than quote from them and, thinking the matter settled, sent a revised manuscript to his publisher.

Salinger sued. The lower court found that Hamilton had made "fair use" of the letters. But the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York reversed the ruling in a decision that not only reinforced existing copyright law but also limited the manner in which a writer could describe copyrighted material in his own words. Hamilton went reeling back to his writing table, and the publishing business went into a tizzy. "Biography is a legitimate literary pursuit," says Jason Epstein, Hamilton's editor at Random House. "Salinger's reluctance to be written about, if ceded, could threaten the whole genre."

Noting that 40% of the disputed manuscript's pages contained quoted and paraphrased materials, Copyright Lawyer Roger Zissu sees a more limited peril: "Most historians and biographers don't write books that are that dependent on the subject's correspondence," says Zissu, who was not involved in the case but who successfully represented Gerald Ford's publishers when they sued the *Nation* magazine for printing key excerpts from the former President's unpublished memoirs.

By paraphrasing Salinger's words, Hamilton believed he was within legal bounds. But the court signaled otherwise. "The biographer has no inherent right to copy the accuracy or the vividness of the letter writer's expression." For example, in 1941 Salinger dated Oona O'Neill, daughter of playwright Eugene O'Neill and future wife of Charlie Chaplin. In one unpublished letter, Salinger imagined a scene from the couple's domestic life: "I can see them at home evenings. Chaplin squatting grey and nude, atop his chiffonier, swinging his thyroid around his head by his bamboo cane, like a dead rat. Oona in an aquamarine gown, applauding madly from the bathroom." The banned Hamilton version: "At one point in a letter to Burnett [Salinger] provides a pen portrait of the Happy Hour Chez Chaplin: the comedian, ancient and unclothed, a brandishing his walking stick—attached to the stick, and horribly resembling a lifeless rodent, is one of Chaplin's vital organs. Oona claps her hands in appreciation."

Citing an "enormous chilling effect" from the decision, Random House Lawyer Gerald Hollingsworth indicates that Scott Donaldson's forthcoming biography of John Cheever has been shorn of some of Cheever's illustrative and idiosyncratic phrases. Last year Macmillan shelved *The*

Salinger has won his legal battle but with predictable results: he has lost the war against unwanted attention

ENTERTAINING AMERICA IN THE '80S

Kids & TV: Taking Control of the Controls

Ever notice how much like a sitcom family life really is? You come home from work. The kids are glued to the TV, controls in hand. You say, "Hello." Without even one eye-flutter away from the set, they mutter a faintly audible acknowledgment. And so the evening begins. And too often that's how it ends — with the kids in control of the controls.

Now with a new generation of television options that entertain, inform and educate, it's time for parents to look at how these increasing choices can affect their children. And it's time for television programmers to understand their own impact.

Ultimately, however, it's in your hands to determine what your children watch. You may find it helpful to take advantage of the insights and information gathered by concerned groups like Action for Children's Television. For example, ACT recommends that kids watch no more than 10 hours of television weekly. They also suggest you teach youngsters to watch *specific* programs, not just to watch television.

HBO wants you to know we share your concerns about your children's viewing habits — and we also share the responsibility for shaping them. You teach your kids *how* to use television wisely, and we help by offering commercial-free family programming and convenient daily scheduling blocks. In fact, HBO provides more than 40 family and children's shows every month — shows that are good fun and good television.

With so many options to choose from, today's television offers a wide range of constructive opportunities for young viewers — as long as you're at the controls.

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Bingham of Louisville after a copyright challenge from Family Patriarch Barry Bingham Sr., former head of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* media empire.

Despite all the fuss, Hamilton's book emerges as a canny and engaging variation on that old journalistic ploy: how to write a lively story about not getting the story. In *Search of J.D. Salinger* is basically a tour de force, impressively written but a bit precious. The author invents an alter ego character who prods the legally lamed Ian Hamilton to get on with his project despite the court's restrictions on paraphrasing. He also takes the liberty of imagining what Salinger might say to him: "It is I hate. You are a snooper and a thief."

Hamilton provides no startling news about his reclusive quarry. Rumors emerge that Salinger has two finished manuscripts locked away, but there is no information about their contents. Instead Hamilton weaves colorful details into what was previously a ragged chronology about Salinger, the misfit son of a Scottish mother and a Jewish father who imported hams and cheeses from Europe. The Salingers were well off, and Sonny, as Jerome David was sometimes called, had New York City as his playground. There were the underachieving school years at Valley Forge Military Academy (the Pencey Prep of *Catcher*), the brief attendance at New York University and Ursinus College, and enrollment in Burnett's short-story course at Columbia, where Hamilton assembles a sketch of an "on-the-make young college drop-out plotting his first literary career moves."

As a member of a U.S. Army counter-intelligence unit during World War II, Salinger searched for Nazis in newly liberated towns and wrote stories while huddled in foxholes. In Paris he met Ernest Hemingway, who supposedly made a bad impression by shooting the head off a chicken. A postwar Salinger cut a tall, dark and disconcerting figure in New York. An editor's wife recalls meeting "Jerry" at a party in 1952: "He came over to me and said that we ought to run away together. I said, 'But I'm pregnant.' And he said, 'That doesn't matter. We can still run away.'"

Among Hamilton's literary anecdotes is the story of the publishing house that missed landing *The Catcher in the Rye* when a vice president sent the manuscript to the textbook department because he had heard the story was about a preppie.

Hamilton's search for Salinger leads him into the author's fiction, where he finds autobiographical inspiration. The city and suburban settings of *Nine Stories* reflect Salinger's Manhattan youth and his adult stint among the commuters of Westport, Conn. The soldier in the magical *For Esme—with Love and Squalor* suffers from a case of nerves not unlike the symptoms Salinger described in a letter to Hemingway. Models are identified for members of the Glass family, the precocious and haunting characters who ride

the time loops of stories as early as *A Perfect Day for Bananafish* and as late as *Seymour: An Introduction*. The year the fiction stopped, 1965, is the point at which Hamilton ends his account.

Salinger has won his legal battle but with predictable results: he has lost the war against unwanted attention. He was forced to communicate with a world he had long since renounced. He was summoned to Manhattan to give a deposition to the defense. His tone in that document is terse and grudging.

Q. Have you written any full-length works of fiction during the past 20 years which have not been published?

A. Could you frame that a different way? What do you mean by a full-length work? You mean ready for publication?

Q. As opposed to a short story or a



Hamilton: sadder and presumably wiser

fictional piece or a magazine submission.

A. It's very difficult to answer. I don't write that way. I just start writing fiction and see what happens to it.

Q. Maybe an easier way to approach this is, would you tell me what your literary efforts have been in the field of fiction within the last 20 years?

A. Could I tell you or would I tell you? Five years after undertaking the project, Hamilton is sadder and presumably wiser, although not necessarily richer. Random House footed the legal bills, but of his \$100,000 advance, the biographer used up half for research and travel expenses. And there was the cost of ambivalence: "I proceeded with as much tact and decency as one could," says Hamilton. "Nonetheless there he is, wanting to be left alone, and he isn't being left alone, and this is partly because of me." If he had known the outcome, would Hamilton have written about Salinger? "No," he says emphatically. How does he feel about writing other biographies? "Extremely reluctant. The subject would have to be very, very dead."

—By R.J. Sheppard.
Reported by Helen Gibson/London and Raji Samghabadi/New York

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Health & Fitness



Bronzing at a Chicago salon: Does exposure now mean a higher risk of complications later?

Perils of the Tanning Parlor

Doctors worry about the effects of ultraviolet radiation

Indoor tanning salons, with their clamshell-like Plexiglas sun-lamp beds, have become a testament to the American conviction that a bronzed body radiates health and affluence. In a decade, the industry has burgeoned into 18,000 salons nationwide. Thousands of other businesses, like health clubs, have installed tanning booths. Now the pain: doctors are warning that exposure to the ultraviolet light emitted by sun lamps may result in afflictions, ranging from skin cancer to cataracts, that show up as much as 20 years later. Declares Dr. Stephen Katz, dermatology chief at the National Cancer Institute: "These things are hazardous."

Even parlor operators are getting the message. Rich Boggs, president of an Atlanta company that runs four health clubs, removed all but two of the clubs' ten tanning machines a year ago. His concern was justified: based on a survey of 62 hospitals, the Consumer Product Safety Commission estimates that there were 1,781 emergency visits nationwide last year for injuries related to tanning booths. The year before, Teenagers Jennifer Tyree and Aida Sabato suffered excruciating eye pain after visiting a Manhattan tanning parlor. Reason: because they did not wear protective goggles, their corneas were seared by overexposure to the UV sun lamps. Warns their ophthalmologist Barry Chaiken: "Only time will tell if the exposure is going to mean that they'll face a higher risk of cataracts and other long-term consequences."

Dr. Mitchell Sams of the University of Alabama in Birmingham recalls one patient with a second-degree "flash burn all over" his body. His mistake: sunbathing outdoors for an hour after visiting a tanning salon the same day; he did not realize that sun lamps can dramatically boost the effect of sunlight. "His entire epidermis peeled off," says Sams.

"We didn't think he was going to live."

Despite such dangers, Ohio is the only state that regulates the tanning industry, although several other states, including California, are considering legislation. U.S. Food and Drug Administration safety standards, which include warnings to wear goggles and limit exposure, are patchily enforced. Most sun-lamp worshippers assume they are protected because the type of radiation produced in most tanning machines is largely UVA (alpha) light instead of UVB (beta) light, which quickly reddens fair skin. Although alpha rays do not appear to burn, says Dr. Michael Franzblau, president of the Congress of California Dermatological Societies, "they're even more dangerous because of the damage they cause to underlying tissue." UVA, he explains, can cause allergic reactions in people on medications as commonplace as tranquilizers.

Alpha rays can also weaken the body's immune system and possibly lower resistance to disease, says Dermatologist John Ep-

stein of the University of California at San Francisco. Epstein and other researchers believe that UVA exposure may promote skin cancer. "The presumption, based on animal studies, is that if you go into an indoor tanning salon, then go out into the sun, you increase the risk of skin cancer," says Dr. Nicholas Lowe of the University of California, Los Angeles.

Such fears are beginning to attach the unfashionable label to the "tanned look." Some sunbathers, though, insist that working up a tan goes beyond vanity. Tracey Mandell, 17, of Los Angeles, went to a salon for 30 minutes a day for two weeks before a Palm Springs vacation. Like many others, she is convinced that a parlor "base tan" effectively protects against sunburn. Some researchers agree, as long as the tanning is gradual. But many others contend it is a "myth" that a UVA base tan can provide protection. Dermatologist Gary Peck of the National Cancer Institute predicts that today's tanners will pay the price tomorrow. At the very least, they are the ones who will be slathering on anti-aging cream "to get rid of the wrinkles caused by the exposure." — *By David Brand.*

Reported by Scott Brown/Los Angeles, with other bureaus

Speeding the Glow

For those who burn easily, the promise of a magical elixir that prepares the skin for a maximum tan with minimum exposure is a tempting prospect—and a potentially dangerous one. U.S. dermatologists dismiss most such preparations, called tan accelerators, as little more than harmless skin moisturizers. But there is sharp debate over the safety of a French-made lotion called Bergasol, which is available in Europe and will be submitted to the Food and Drug Administration for approval.

In recent trials of the tan enhancer,

Norman Levine, a University of Arizona dermatologist, confirmed that it produces a fast tan for all skin types by increasing melanin, the skin pigment that absorbs the sun's ultraviolet rays. The black mark against Bergasol, say other doctors, is that it contains the chemical psoralen, extracted from citrus oil. In animal tests at Harvard Medical School, high doses of psoralen caused skin cancer. Still, says Harvard Dermatologist Madua Pathak, Bergasol also contains sunscreen, which reduces UV absorption and cuts the risk to humans to acceptable levels. Harvard Colleague Robert Stern is not so sure. Says he: "I don't believe that using the agent is safe."

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Meaty Matters

Is beef now good for you?

When it comes to knowing what is good for them, Americans seem to spend as much time grinding their teeth in frustration as actually chowing down. Almost as soon as they are comfortable with one dietary dictum, out comes a new nugget of nutritional wisdom at odds with the first. Last week consumers got just such a confusing jolt. For years they have been told that burgers and steaks are high in dreadful compounds, called saturated fats, that boost the body's supply of cholesterol and thus increase the risk of heart disease. Now researchers have demonstrated that one type of saturated fat that is plentiful in beef can actually lower cholesterol.

In a study published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, Dr. Scott Grundy and Dr. Andrea Bonanome, both of the University of Texas at Dallas, placed eleven men on three different liquid diets, each for three weeks. The low-cholesterol liquids derived 40% of their calories from fat. One preparation used stearic acid; a second, another saturated fat called palmitic acid; and the third, oleic acid, a monounsaturated fat in olive oil. The results, which may apply only to men since no women were studied, showed that blood levels of cholesterol dropped 10% with the oleic-acid diet and a more impressive 14% on the stearic-acid formula.

Does this mean that Americans can safely gorge on mounds of meat? Emphatically not, says Dr. Grundy. "The simple message is that moderate portions of lean beef are O.K.," A slab of beef may be high in stearic acid, but it is also full of palmitic acid, which raised blood cholesterol by a startling 21% in the study. Thus while the "good" fatty acid can mitigate the effect of the "bad," it cannot wholly overcome it. Americans are advised to stick to a prudent diet: no more than 30% of daily calories should come from fat, and only a third of that from saturated fat.

Still, the findings are likely to have some beneficial impact for consumers. Food manufacturers could create margarine and shortenings rich in stearic acid, which would improve taste by adding texture but without raising cholesterol. Even better, cattle breeders and ranchers may eventually hit on a way of raising animals that are high in the "good" saturated fat and low in the "bad."



Sizzling steak: hotbed of feuding fats

Cinema



Uggood the dwarf: our hero (Davis), his patient wife (Peters) and their children

The Empire Strikes Out

WILLOW Directed by Ron Howard. Screenplay by Bob Dolman

"It was a time of dread," reads a legend at the start of George Lucas' new epic. Surely it was. We speak not only of the dour Middle Ages in which this sword-and-sorcery film is set but of the late 1980s, when Lucasfilm hit its dark age, after nearly a decade as the most profitable dream-mongering empire in movie history. By 1984 Lucas had produced five of the eight all-time top grossers. But that was a long time ago, in a land far, far away. Lucas' fantasies went murky (*Labyrinth*) or smirky (*Howard the Duck*), and his empire suddenly looked as frail as King Lear's. So Hollywood is closely watching Lucas' \$35 million gamble on *Willow*. But will moviegoers watch? To a genre weakened by formula and familiarity, Lucas has brought little new, just a reprise of his *Star Wars* plot and characters in sylvan gear. His Luke Skywalker is Willow Uggood (Warwick Davis), a dwarf in a community of dwarfs, a young farmer put in charge of the infant who is destined to deliver his land from the terrible rule of Queen Bavmorda (Jean Marsh). On his journey to Castle Nockmaar, he acquires a few worthy friends and foes: an outlaw warrior in the Han Solo mold (Val Kilmer), a dashing knight with Lando Calrissian's righteous swagger (Gavan O'Herlihy), a willful princess with martial guile (Joanne Whalley), a Yoda-like wizard (Billy Barty), an ancient sorceress—Obi-Wan Kenobi's kid sister, perhaps—struggling under a curse (Patricia Hayes) and a couple of impish brownies reminiscent of Artoo Detoo and See Threepio.

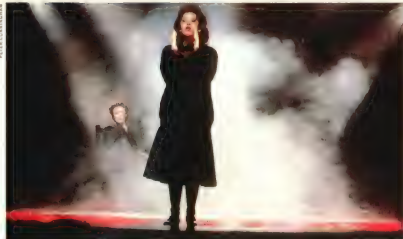
These characters were not new with Lucas, of course; they spanned epic literature from Ulysses and King Arthur to the *Lord of the Rings* and *Gormenghast* trilo-

gies. But *Star Wars* gave a high-tech polish to the rustic hardware, a kick to the old eldritch machinery. Alas, a decade later, everything new in Lucas' films seems old again. There is a shroud of inevitability, of why-bother, about *Willow*'s chase through the forest (done better in *Return of the Jedi*), the impromptu ride down a mountain on a warrior's shield (done better in *The Living Daylights*), on the whole tussle of light and dark. The only twist here is that the crucial tug of wills is between two women, the good witch and the bad, over a female messiah. One matriarch fights another in an apocalyptic biddy war.

Any Lucas film will have vagrant charms. Davis is ingratiating. So is Julie Peters playing his wife, as patient as Penelope. Director Ron Howard (*Splash*, *Cocoon*) gets the social politics of the dwarfs' village right, but he is not adept at action scenes: some are too busy; others are botched. Kilmer tries hard in a role that might have fit Mel Gibson like an iron glove, and Whalley, teen angel of the serious British mini-series (*The Edge of Darkness*, *The Singing Detective*) is wasted as the heroine. Both Kilmer and Whalley, in fact, are curiously irrelevant to the climactic battle. But then, *Willow* is a *Star Wars* without star quality, an *Indiana Jones* adventure with the heart ripped out.

"Magic is the bloodstream of the universe," goes the refrain in *Willow*, but the blood is tired this time. The old legerdemain may save a kingdom, but it can't save this movie and, maybe, the fantasy genre. The man who soared on the zeitgeist can sink when it changes. George Lucas has worked his magic before and surely will again. But for now, the wonder wand is broken.

—By Richard Corliss



Mother-daughter wars and a gymnasium *Götterdämmerung*: Buckley, left, and Hateley

Theater

Getting All Fired Up over Nothing

CARRIE Music by Michael Gore; Lyrics by Dean Pitchford
Book by Lawrence D. Cohen

When Terry Hands took over from Trevor Nunn as sole artistic director of Britain's Royal Shakespeare Company in 1987, he had a daunting artistic legacy to equal. But, according to associates, Hands may have yearned just as much to emulate Nunn's commercial success—and income—as director of the musicals *Cats*, *Les Misérables* and *Starlight Express*. Hands committed himself to staging a most unorthodox venture for the R.S.C.: a \$7 million musical adaptation of Stephen King's 1974 horror novel *Carrie*. In meetings, colleagues say, Hands was apt to recite costs and potential box-office income at various Broadway houses.

Carrie had made a successful 1976 film, and the musical adapters had helped create the film and TV series *Fame*. Nevertheless, from the moment the project went into rehearsal with a mixed British and American cast, it seemed as ill-fated as its characters: an awkward teenage girl, her religiously obsessed mother and a high school full of taunting girls and boys who come to grief when the target of their mockery demonstrates supernatural powers of destruction in a crowded gym on prom night. *Carrie* was blasted by London critics when it opened a four-week run in February at the R.S.C.'s home in Stratford-upon-Avon. The show was rewritten almost nightly; special effects misfired disastrously; one of the two leads quit. Problems continued when it moved to New York City, and the opening was postponed beyond the cutoff for Tony nominations, undercutting the marketing strategy.

What finally opened last week was two musicals lumped together, one compelling-

ly written and overpoweringly performed, the other so ditzily conceived and garishly staged that it deflates the first. The scenes between Carrie (Linzi Hateley, 17) and her mother (Betty Buckley, a 1983 Tony winner for *Cats*) crackle with longing. The daughter is love starved and so innocent that she does not know what is happening when she menstruates in the high school shower. Her mother is aquiver with barely suppressed sexuality, yet ablaze with guilty memory. The conflict between the girl's aching to be normal and her mother's fear that she will go astray aspires to metaphysical tragedy. The last image, on a temple-like staircase, is of Mother, Daughter and what seems to be a Holy Friend, and the final gesture is a mutual mother-daughter sacrifice.

Offsetting this intensity are ludicrously campy high school scenes featuring girls who look and dress like 28-year-old hookers. They taunt Carrie in a highly unfeminine fashion that might be more plausible if they were jocks abusing a classmate perceived as a sissy. Rock Star Darlene Love, playing a teacher, breaks character to step forward and smile in acknowledgment of the audience's greeting. The high school bits are apparently meant to be spoofs, except for a bizarre dance about slaughtering a pig, which turns out, inadvertently, to be the funniest moment. As gross-out entertainment, *Carrie* fails to deliver. Early scenes offer literal stage blood and fire, but the gymnasium *Götterdämmerung* is all metaphor. It is just smoke and flashing lights and lasers asking to be transformed by the audience's imagination—a quality lacking in the creators of this mismatched morass.

—By William A. Henry III

Milestones

GRADUATED. Robert Giroux, 74, noted book publisher and editor, from Regis High School in New York City, 57 years after dropping out in the spring of his senior year to take a job at a newspaper. Giroux, the chairman of Farrar, Straus & Giroux, returned to his alma mater last week for a literary award and picked up his diploma as well. He has discovered and encouraged a pride of literary lions among them Susan Sontag, Jean Stafford, Robert Lowell and Bernard Malamud.

DIVORCED. Eric Clapton, 43, British rock star (*Layla*, *Lay Down Sally*, *Tulsa Time*, *Cocaine*), and Patti Boyd, 44, after nine years of marriage; in London. Clapton and Boyd were married in 1979 after her widely publicized split from former Beatle George Harrison. Boyd was granted an uncontested divorce on grounds of Clapton's adultery with Italian Actress and TV Personality Lory Del Santo, with whom he has a son.

CHARGED. With the May 4 murder of Broadway Actor George Rose: Domingo Antonio Rallo Vazquez, 18, Rose's adopted son, along with Ralfe Vazquez's natural father, his uncle and a hired assassin who is still at large; in Santo Domingo. Police say Rose was clubbed to death, then put into his car and pushed into a ditch to simulate an accident. Ralfe Vazquez, who was named as a beneficiary in Rose's will, told authorities he "felt jealous" because Rose was showing affection for a 14-year-old boy also living in the house.

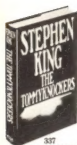
PATERNITY RULED. For the 2-year-old daughter of Comedian Jackie Mason, 57, and Ginger Reiter, 36, an actress and playwright; in Miami. A Florida circuit court judge, who based his finding on a blood test, opined that the child "looks like" Mason. The comedian, who is contesting the decision, is starring on Broadway in *The World According to Me!*

DIED. Richard B. Ogilvie, 65, outspoken Republican Governor of Illinois from 1969 to 1973; after a heart attack; in Chicago. As Governor he confronted thorny political and economic issues, taking quick action to defuse the racial tensions of the late 1960s and pushing for the state's first income tax, an unpopular move that nevertheless enabled him to nearly double funding for elementary and secondary public education and to raise welfare spending by 20%. "I did not run for office," he once said, "to evade responsibility."

DIED. Robert Heinlein, 80, celebrated science fiction writer, author of five dozen books with worldwide sales of more than 40 million copies; in Carmel, Calif. Inventive, outrageous and prescient, Heinlein's tales introduced readers to such future commonplaces as waterbeds, atomic power plants, time travel and sex changes. His most famous novel, *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961), became a cult favorite.

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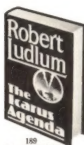
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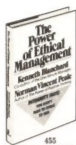
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Essay

Michael Kinsley

The Superrich Are Different

You can understand why Leona Helmsley might want a \$45,000 silver clock modeled after a building owned by her billionaire husband, even if you wouldn't want one yourself. What's harder to understand is why she would bother breaking the law to get it. That, in fact, is part of her lawyer's answer to official charges that the Helmsleys cheated the Government of \$4 million in taxes by wrongly charging off sundry personal gewgaws as business expenses: Would people so rich risk jail for an amount so (relatively) small?

Maybe Mrs. Helmsley did it as a public service. After all, her calamity has brought pleasure to millions. The sacrifice of plutocrats on the altar of public scandal is a treasured ritual of the American civil religion. And the Helmsleys were already among the least sympathetic of the wealth celebrities coughed up by the Reagan era. He is a landlord: 50,000 apartments, along with other real estate. She is the self-proclaimed "queen" of his hotel chain, famous for being nasty to the help, and a walking exaggeration of every cliché about the second wife as a social type. The obvious diagnosis of what ails the Helmsleys—greed—doesn't explain much, either morally or practically. Few of us lack greed. And, in our economic system, there is nothing wrong with greed. A variety of diagrams and mathematical formulas is available to show how capitalism usually channels individual greed into productive activity that's good for society as a whole. But, if anything, the Helmsleys ought to be exempt from the forces that stimulate greed in the rest of us. They're already worth an estimated \$1.4 billion. They're 67 and 79 years old, with no children. They give to charity generously, but not obsessively. Although the Helmsleys try harder than most other superrich, there's no way they're going to spend what they've already got. So why cheat the Government to get more?

Indeed, the question of what may have motivated one superrich couple to break the law is less interesting than the question of what motivates all of them to keep on accumulating, legally or otherwise. A central assumption of supply-side economics—the dominant economic theology of the past decade, which produced large tax-rate cuts for the wealthy—is that people are motivated by rather fine calculations about the reward for further effort. Supply-siders are the chiropractors of capitalism, believing that small manipulations of the incentive structure can produce enormous changes in economic behavior. That may be true for those of us who have some use—if not real need—for everything we earn. But is it true of those at the very top of the economy?

The classic work on the motivations of the rich is Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). Veblen, who invented the term conspicuous consumption, argued that the rich don't accumulate wealth in order to consume goods. Just the opposite: they consume in order to display their accumulation. "The possession of wealth

confers honour; it is an invidious distinction. Nothing equally cogent can be said for the consumption of goods, nor for any other conceivable incentive to acquisition, and especially not for any incentive to the accumulation of wealth." The rich also display their wealth, Veblen argued, by not working: "conspicuous leisure." In all societies, he wrote, "the upper classes are exempt from industrial employments, and this exemption is the economic expression of their superior rank."

But Veblen may need updating. How to explain people who accumulate more than they could ever possibly consume, and keep on working anyway? Many of the superrich (including Sam Walton, at \$8.7 billion the richest man in America) pride themselves on living simply and expecting their heirs to do the same. They have no possible use for more money. Some have businesses to which they bring a missionary zeal, but can missionary zeal be brought to real estate syndications and leveraged buyouts—the prototypical new fortunes of the 1980s? Although some may plead force of habit or lack of imagination, most would deny any explanation that mundane. Why do they keep it up?

Well, Veblen could not have anticipated the cult of commerce, which has made working more chic than idleness. The way you put your billions on display is to bustle like a billionaire businessman, not in a futile attempt to spend them. It is her job as queen of the Helmsley hotel empire, not the spending power of her accumulated wealth, that Leona Helmsley has skillfully converted into today's favorite currency of fame.

What's more, the wealth tabulations that are now a running feature of publications like *FORTUNE* and *Forbes* have made it possible to display accumulated wealth beyond the natural limits of conspicuous consumption. Veblen would feel vindicated to know that after some initial resistance, many rich people now happily supply the details of their fortunes to the staffs compiling these lists. Harry Helmsley ranks 65th in the world according to *FORTUNE*. And—who knows?—another \$4 million here and there could make all the difference between 65th and 64th.

But surely, if competitive accumulation for its own sake is the point for the very rich, then we needn't worry too much that their productive energies might be sapped by higher tax rates. To take an extreme example, if every billionaire's fortune were cut by half overnight, their relative rankings would be exactly the same, and they'd still have more money than they could ever spend.

One Reagan tax cut that got little attention was a major 1981 reduction in the estate tax. Veblen would say this is the wrong approach to encouraging the greed of the super-wealthy. Instead, when a very rich individual (say, \$100 million plus) dies, the Government should audit the fortune and announce its relative ranking at a special press conference, as a service to "invidious distinction." Then it could, in good conscience, take a large chunk as a service charge.





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